

Thursday February 22 1996

Table of exchange rates for various currencies including Abu Dhabi, Athens, Ankara, etc.

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NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR 46,482

Peace or war — time runs out

IRA: what next for the Secret Army?

Guardian 2 with European weather

Webmasters of the universe

OnLine

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Derek Malcolm hails three major films

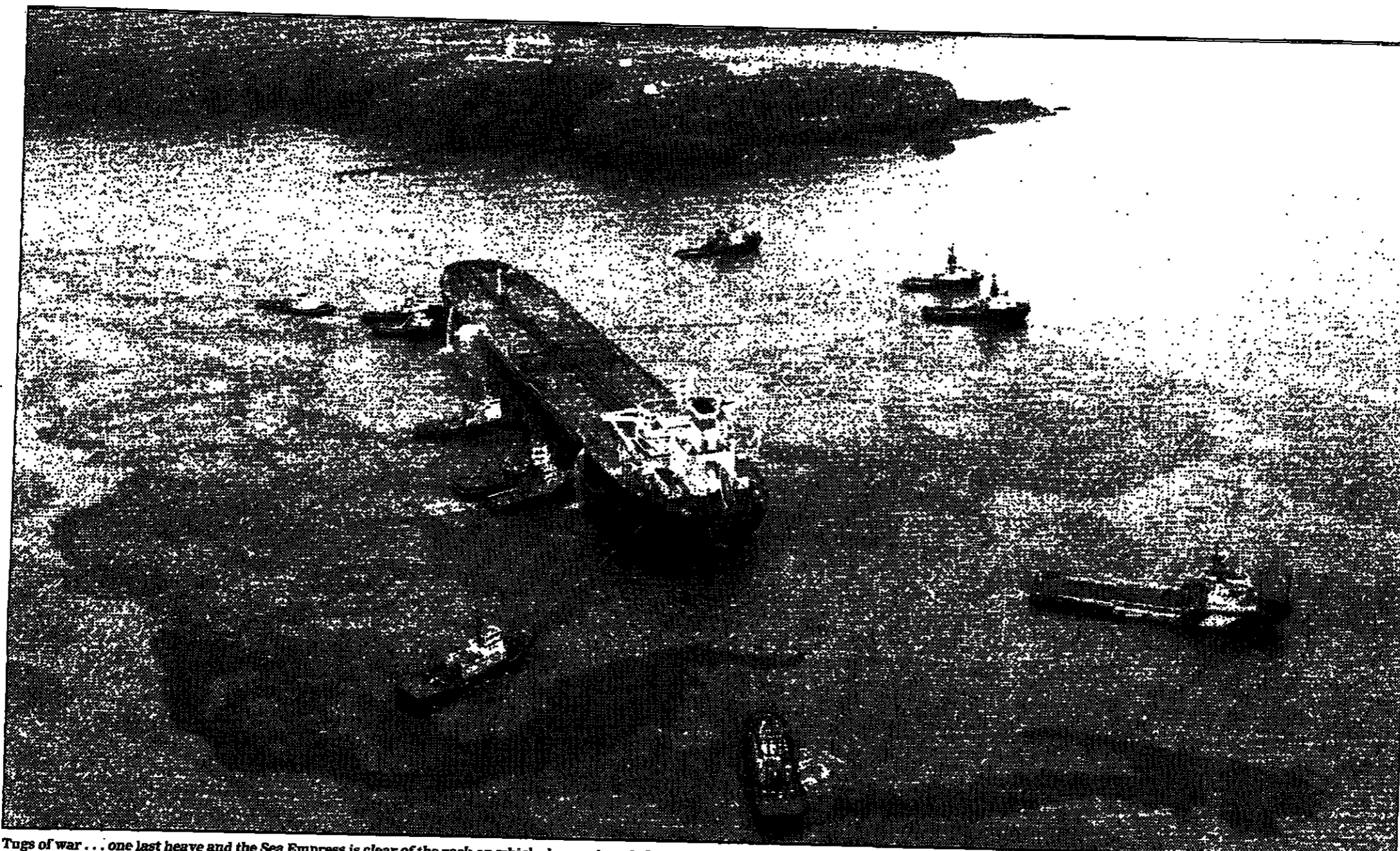
Marriage, mayhem and the Mob

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Tanker pulled off rocks but marine life is threatened by 70,000-tonne spill

The sea that turned to treacle



After almost a week... an armada of tugs shifts the Sea Empress into harbour

Owen Bowcott

THE grounded super tanker Sea Empress was pulled off rocks at the mouth of Milford Haven estuary by an armada of 12 tugs last night and towed slowly in towards the port at high tide.

Tugs of war... one last heave and the Sea Empress is clear of the rock on which she was impaled — but the damage to nature may be terminal

Eyewitness

Edward Pilkington on Skomer

THE Wick on Skomer island in west Wales looked like a haven of tranquillity yesterday in an angry, tossing sea.



An oyster catcher perishes of rock in one of the greatest densities of nesting birds in Britain.

in pulling the Sea Empress off the jagged rocks on which it was impaled, the oil spilled so far could turn this annual celebration of bird life into a mass disaster.

line appeared to have been painted black. The source of this contagion was clearly visible beneath St Anne's Head, about four miles south along the Pembrokeshire coastline.

As we drew closer to the Sea Empress, the area took on the semblance of a battle zone. A stream of Dakotas flew low overhead, dropping their dispersant bombs.

As the dust settled, Republican leaders acknowledged that the splits in their party amounted to civil war.

New Scott blow to Waldegrave

Richard Norton-Taylor and Michael White

WILLIAM Waldegrave, Chief Secretary to the Treasury, approved the export of equipment to Iraq when he was a Foreign Office minister, despite warnings that it could be used in nuclear, chemical and biological warheads.

Waldegrave "would have had an easily defensible position if there had been any public discrimination". The Iraqi order was placed in early 1990 with PMK Electronic Consultants, a company owned by teaching staff at the then Liverpool Polytechnic.

Alan Clark, then defence procurement minister. Mr Waldegrave, however, argued that refusal to grant an export licence might seem "we were looking for excuses to irritate Iraq for no reason".

at the end "it was anticipated that the licence would be revoked... due to the events which ultimately led to the UN embargo on Iraq in August 1990".

Republicans face civil war after Buchanan snatches key primary

Martin Walker and Jonathan Freedland in Manchester, New Hampshire

OPEN warfare broke out within the Republican party yesterday as the erstwhile frontrunner Senator Robert Dole set off limping into a political landscape transformed by Pat Buchanan's narrow but striking victory in Tuesday's New Hampshire primary election.

friends, we will be obedient to only one sovereign in America, and that is the sovereign God himself." The final tally in the first primary of the presidential election season showed Mr Buchanan beating Mr Dole by 27 to 26 per cent, or just over 2,000 votes, with the moderate conservative Lamar Alexander third with 23 per cent and the millionaire Independent Steve Forbes trailing with 12 per cent.

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TESSA, TESSA, TESSA. WHICH ONE IS RIGHT FOR YOU? Advertisement for Abbey National.

Advertisement for Abbey National with text: 'When you want a TESSA don't ask any old Tom, Dick or Harry, ask Abbey National.'

Sketch

Toff question of early Scot draft



Simon Hoggart

SCOTLAND worried its way into parliamentary business yesterday, as it so often does. Phil Galle, the Tory MP for Ayr, stood up during education questions and complained that the new crop of Post Office stamps, featuring quotes from Robert Burns, contained misspellings. He seemed quite agitated.

Of course they contain misspellings. Burns was like the Guardian in the bad old days. Even when the words were correctly spelled, they didn't mean anything. "For the sake of old long since," for example.

Do you know what "Scots, who bae wi Wallace bled" (on the 41p stamp) means? Naturally not. A Scottish colleague tells me it translates as "Scots, who have with Wallace bled," but I am none the wiser, for a that.

Apparently the fuss is over the 19p stamp and its quote from To A Mouse. The Forth Office records the opening line as: "Wee, sleeket, cowran, tim'rous beastie", whereas some authorities prefer: "Wee, sleeket, cowran tim'rous beastie" — as if it made the slightest difference.

And while we're on the subject, what on earth is "an honest, sonsie face"? Or "a cog o' guid swats"? Or "I gie them a skep"? "Monie jobs that day begin" may end in boughnagandie "cannot mean anything at all."

"Whistle'er the lave o't" is the first line of a poem mysteriously entitled "Whistle'er the lave o't." One of the more gripping passages in Tam O'Shanter reads: "Till lika carlin swat and reekit, And coast her ruddies to the waik!"

I expect cross letters from readers who will explain that this is reputable 18th-century Scottish dialect, and that it's no different in principle from Chaucer. Except that Chaucer

has the excuse of writing 600 years ago. And I suspect that many of Burns's sophisticated, anglicised Edinburgh audience didn't understand a word of it either.

The difference between Mr Galle and Burns is that Mr Galle is a rough, untutored fellow who is posing as a Tory MP and therefore a toff. Rabbie Burns was a toff who posed as a rough, untutored peasant. None of this was mentioned by the minister, James Paice, who murmured something obliging about Burns being a "national treasure". But then being nice about Burns is regarded as a cheap and meaningless way of buttering up the Scots, as if any of them were likely to notice.

Next we heard from another Scot, Bill Walker (C, Teayside N), who introduced a bill which would enforce a referendum of the people before any constitutional change approved by Parliament actually took place. Obviously this was about Labour's plans for a Scottish assembly, and Mr Walker called in aid the referendums which took place in Scotland and Wales in 1979. In fact, it soon became clear that this was to do with Europe. Mr Walker, a noted Eurosceptic, sat surrounded by supporters, including Jacques Arnold, the MP for Gravesham.

I had thought Kent was blanketed in snow at last, but Mr Walker's Mr Arnold was dug out by the whips, rather as archaeologists find those 5,000-year old men preserved in glaciers. Mr Arnold certainly sounds 5,000 years old.

The whole process was watched by John Redwood, who sat smiling approval of what his boys were up to, like Fagin.

Back to Burns: another possibility is that the poet was writing an early draft of the Scott Report, which also contains the line "The best made schemes o' mice and men, Gang aft agley" is a fairly obvious reference.

If the line "Facts are chiefti which winna ding" means anything at all, it must surely apply to William Wallace. I should doubt this description of Sir Nicholas Lyell's behaviour during the Matrix Churchill trial: "Tho' they may gang a kennaing wrang, To step aside is human." Whatever it means.

Review

Bedsit tales amid the stripped pine

Adrian Searle

Tracey Emin

Habitat

FOR one night only, Habitat in Tottenham Court Road had a new, and alarming, shop assistant. Ask the price of a sofa, an ethnic druggist or a nice pine dining table, and Tracey Emin will tell you about her time working as a shop assistant in a sex emporium in Margate.

Instead of the tasteful and innocuous wares which surround her audience, Tracey is talking about dilutes, bondage tackle, and propositions from an over-so-artistic photographer with wonky teeth and a line in amateur hypnotism.

Emin's attentive audience perch on spring season sofas and home assembly beds, while the artist stands behind the basement sales counter, telling stories about her youth in Margate: her life in a DHSS bedsit, hammered on cider cocktails, popping bliss, a rape, a black kid murdered by hard-case marines.

Shopping trips to Habitat invariably end in fantasies of domestic violence, but Tracey is telling us about a life elsewhere. The Kent coast lit up like Las Vegas, pubescent fumbles in the doorway of Burton's tailors, fake fortune tellers, fights and her mum's lesbian lover.

Emin has found herself here by way of an inspired programme of collaborations between Habitat and young artists, organised by Ben Weaver. He's more nervous than Tracey. Instead of Habitat's usual go-with-the-cur-tains prints and over-the-sofa

abstracts, Emin has applied a bedspread with a poem about the more atavistic joys of sex and scrawled heartrending sentiments on the pillows of Habitat's apple-pie beds.

"I am crying not for myself but for you," reads one pillow. All this could be toe-curling, but Emin, standing behind the till, reading from her endless supply of autobiographical vignettes, is made of sterner stuff. She exposes the details of the darkest corners of her life, from her schoolyard punch-ups to her abortions, from her first period to the prat-falls of her love-life.

Her most famous work is a tent on which she emblazoned the names of everyone she ever slept with, and recently she opened a museum on the Waterloo Road dedicated to herself, which she intends should stay open for the next five years.

Emin also shows at White Cube, the hottest gallery in town, alongside Damien Hirst and Antony Gormley. Now, however, she's a one-woman show, reading and extemporising, hoping she doesn't sound like Ronnie Corbett.

Next week, Emin is off to paint naked in an empty room in Stockholm. Visitors will be able to watch her through a fish-eye lens in the locked door of her studio.

But now it's Habitat, and Emin is crying as she reads, talking about her disasters, her mum, her gran, and her Turkish-Cypriot gangster father. Her self-exposure is, of course, a highly effective form of manipulation, but looking down, I notice I'm weeping into a scatter cushion.

This review appeared in later editions yesterday

Changes to London end of Chunnel link route agreed

Rebecca Smithers

Political Correspondent

MORE tunnelling at the London end of the Channel tunnel rail link has been agreed by MPs in changes that finalise the route of the 68-mile railway and add £170 million to the total bill of £2.7 billion. They are designed to meet environmental concerns

and residents' worries about high-speed Eurostar trains passing close to their homes. The tunnel underneath London will be extended at Barking in east London, and there will be a less intrusive surface route near Mardyke Park in Thurrock, Essex.

The approach at St Pancras station in London is also being altered to reduce its impact on residents.



The main street in Gorey, Co Wexford, a small market town which has remained virtually untouched by the Troubles... until now

Blair 'backed PM's errors over Ulster'

Patrick Wintour

Chief Political Correspondent

TONY BLAIR'S efforts to maintain his bipartisan policy on Ireland and suffered a serious blow yesterday when his former Northern Ireland spokesman, Kevin McNamara, accused John Major of contributing to the end of the IRA ceasefire by equivocating, flinching and making errors of judgment.

Mr Major's handling of the ceasefire, he claimed, was a succession of "at worst broken promises and at best gauche political ploys".

Mr McNamara also attacked Blair's "uncritically supporting each of Mr Major's errors of judgment".

The most senior Labour politician publicly to break the bipartisan consensus on Northern Ireland was Deputy's speech in Oxford highlighting the unwise within a section of the party over the stance adopted by Mr Blair and his Northern Ireland spokeswoman, Mo Mowlam.

Moreover, his remarks, by reminding the Unionists of Labour's Irish nationalist wing, are likely to confirm Unionist MPs in their view that they should prop up a Conservative minority government rather than provoke an election liable to be won by a less Unionist Labour Party.

Mr McNamara said: "John Major's successive errors of judgement explain, although they do not excuse, the scenes of devastation in London."

He condemned the bombing unreservedly, but blamed the Prime Minister for repeatedly underestimating the need to keep the peace process going after the IRA announced its ceasefire in August 1994.

He criticised Mr Major for initially demanding the IRA state its ceasefire was permanent, but only later agreeing to make a working assumption that it was simple later stuff. He did not act speedily upon the assumption to which he had committed himself. In so doing, he impaired the possibility that rapid momentum on negotiations might have acted to build confidence about his intentions

within the nationalist community. Instead Mr Major chose to stand by Mr McNamara — sacked by Mr Blair 18 months ago largely for his pro-nationalist leanings — accused the Government of equivocating on the necessary reforms in policing and emergency legislation. "Worse, and against the explicit advice of some of his own security experts, Mr Major insisted that the IRA, and in a quieter voice the Loyalists, decommission some of their weapons before all-party talks could begin. Decommissioning became a precondition of talks, despite the fact that it is not explicitly mentioned in the Downing Street Declaration."

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Ed O'Brien as a keen footballer at the age of 12

O'Brien phoned his mother every Sunday. Four hours after his last call he was dead

David Sharrock and Mary Carolan

THEY didn't know how to react, but in the end most of the townspeople settled on grieving for the boy they had known all their lives and for his family, not for the IRA bomber he had inexplicably become after going abroad.

It was beyond the limits of endurance for the parents of 21-year-old Ed O'Brien, who left them three years ago to work on the railways in England. Too stunned, angry and ashamed to face the media, the dead man's mother and father, Myles and Margaret O'Brien, issued a statement through a lawyer extending "deep sorrow and sympathy" to the people injured in the explosion. "Although it has

not been formally confirmed to them, Mr and Mrs O'Brien and their family are satisfied that Edward was the young man who was killed in the London bus bomb on Sunday," it read.

"Mr and Mrs O'Brien are deeply shocked. They did not know that their son was involved in any illegal organisation. Their son had no involvement whatsoever in any such illegal organisation while he lived in the family home in Gorey."

"Neither they, nor any member of their extended families have, or have ever had, any involvement of any description with any paramilitary grouping."

The statement added: "The O'Brien family unreservedly condemn all paramilitary organisations and wish to have nothing to do with such organisations. They do not want any paramilitary involvement in the funeral of their son." They then asked for some peace, to be allowed to grieve for him.

There will be no IRA funeral in Gorey, a small market town nearer to the crows than to similar-sized towns in England and Wales than in Trouble-torn Belfast or Derry.

As the IRA confirmed last night that Ed O'Brien was one of their members, the townsfolk were as bewildered as the family, behind the net curtains of their tidy council house.

Margaret O'Brien, a daily communicant, earns the family bread by keeping house for a local police inspector. Her husband used to work as a market trader but is currently unemployed. He is known for his soccer enthusiasm, which he passed on to Ed.

They have two more children. Lorraine, aged 20, is out of work. Gary, aged 14, is at school, probably destined like his elder brother to travel to England for work.

Ed left the local Christian Brothers school when he was 15 and started work at a local bakery, where he was remembered as a cheerful manager who never talked about politics.

A few years later he grew restless and decided to try his luck across the water. His family believed he was laying pipes for Railtrack. Nobody had reason from his behaviour to suspect a secret life.

They last saw him at Christmas, when he spent three nights with his grandmother, Mary, and celebrated his 21st birthday in the bosom of his family. One of the dutiful son's final acts before he blew himself up was to phone his mother.

Family friends said that Ed called Margaret every Sunday evening. The call home was made between 6.30pm and 7pm — four hours before the Aldwych blast.

At the town's boxing club, the secretary, Anne Sheerin, remembered how Ed was once defeated in the final of the county championships.

The local priest, Fr Walter Forde, remembered Ed as an altar boy. "The word I would use is wholesome," said the priest when asked to describe him. "He was a very independent, tough, dependable, open kid, very involved in sporting activities. He was the last person one would expect to be associated with activities like this."

"My only guess is that he was recruited in London. There is great surprise be-

cause there was never any indication that Ed had any connection with violent or terrorist activities."

Fr Forde said that locally pressed revisionists for the evil, degraded IRA godfathers who recruits impressionable young people into violent activities which end as tragically as they have done for Ed and for the injured people.

A steady stream of visitors paid their respects. But a republican who arrived at the O'Briens' home on Tuesday evening was said to have been turned away.

Ireland's fight for independence from England has left few marks on Gorey. A stained glass window in the Church of Ireland church commemorating Captain Leavelle's murder by the IRA in 1923 is the only reminder of this century's tumultuous events.

Outside the Garda station there is a granite plaque commemorating the founding of the first society of United Irishmen in Wexford in 1782.

The United Irishmen wanted to unite Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter and break the link with England. But when their armed revolt came in 1798, the middle-class Catholics of Gorey formed guard companies to protect the houses of their Protestant neighbours from the "rebels".

In the modern Troubles, Gorey, like most of the Irish Republic, has been left untouched. Republican and police sources agreed that the town is poor territory for would-be militants. Nobody sells An Phoblacht/Republican News, the newspaper of the republican movement. The paper is respecting the family's wishes, and in today's edition there will be no eulogy to a martyred IRA volunteer.

In the circumstances of last week's front-page headline — "IRA Says Negotiate" — it would hardly have been a glorious send-off. He died that he might get a seat at the negotiating table.

Dying for Ireland is no longer what young men's dreams are made of. And in Gorey it hasn't been for more than two centuries.

Plain writing style may be early sign of Alzheimer's

Ian Katz in New York

PEOPLE whose writing style is simple and uncluttered may be more vulnerable to Alzheimer's disease than those who write in a complex, idea-packed style, according to research published yesterday.

In a long-term study of an order of nuns, University of Kentucky researchers found that the women who wrote in dense, grammatically complex sentences in their twenties largely retained their sound of mind while most of those whose prose was simple later succumbed to the disease.

Detailing their findings in the Journal of the American Medical Association, the researchers suggested that Alzheimer's disease, which causes progressive dementia, may be a lifelong illness which shows subtle symptoms when sufferers are young.

The researchers analysed the brief autobiographies written by women before taking their vows at the Convent of the School Sisters of Notre Dame. The women, all born before 1917, were on average 22 years old when they wrote the one-page résumés.

By measuring what they called the "idea density", or number of ideas per number of words, the researchers were able to predict with 90 per cent accuracy which nuns would later fall victim to Alzheimer's.

"To me it was the most bizarre finding on earth," Dr James Mortimer, of the University of South Florida, who wrote up the study, told the New York Times.

Republicans face civil war

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Bob Dole will be the Republican nominee, Mr Bush said. Only a year ago, after winning control of both Houses of Congress, Republicans and academics were talking of a realignment that would make the natural party of government for a generation.

But as Mr Buchanan boasted that his redneck revolt was on course for victory, panicked party officials rallied to Mr Dole's organisational juggernaut in the belief that only he has sufficient money and on-the-ground infrastructure in the 26 separate states which vote in the next five intense weeks.

Even so, the 24 Republican governors, who had endorsed Senator Dole, are faced with a dilemma. Either they deliver their political machines for a fading and limping candidate who looks doomed to be defeated by President Clinton, or they break with all party tradition, abandon their pledges to Mr Dole, and throw their support behind Mr Alexander as the way to stop Mr Buchanan.

A crucial figure in the party's deliberations will be its last president, George Bush. His two sons control the party machinery in the two main Southern states, where Buchanan will have to be stopped if his challenge is to be defeated. George Bush Jr is governor of Texas, and Jeb Bush is party chairman and kingmaker in Florida.

George Bush and Senator Dole share an antipathy that goes back to their rivalry in the 1980 and 1988 campaign trails — when Mr Dole accused him of "lying" — while Mr Alexander has been a Bush protégé. He was picked to join the Bush cabinet as education secretary, and last year was invited to

play piano at the Bushes' 50th wedding anniversary.

But Mr Bush's greatest enmity is reserved for Pat Buchanan, the man he blames for his eviction from the White House in 1992. The television commentator mounted an insurgent challenge to his own party's sitting president in New Hampshire, and Mr Bush never recovered.

Aides to Mr Dole attempted to put the New Hampshire result behind them yesterday, forecasting that the worst was over for their candidate.

Crowing that Mr Alexander and Mr Forbes had fired their best shots in New Hampshire and still failed to beat Senator Dole, campaign manager Scott Reed said the might of the Dole machine would carry him to the nomination.

In South Carolina, Governor David Beasley — a darling of the Christian right — should help Mr Dole pasture Mr Buchanan. Little by little, explains Mr Reed, the candidate will pick up the delegates he needs to win — albeit without the kickstart of a win in New Hampshire.

The strategy relies on using Mr Dole's mighty war chest, standing at \$6.5 million (\$4.2 million) in ready cash, to obliterate Mr Forbes and Mr Alexander, leaving a straight fight against Mr Buchanan.

The compacted primary timetable will make cash and organisation all the more crucial, since there will not be time for a state-by-state approach. "The only way to win this is with a national campaign," Mr Reed said.

But the failure of Mr Forbes' war chest and Senator Phil Gramm's once-legendary organisation in the face of the sheer commitment of the Buchanan Brigades have rewritten the US political rulebook.

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The Princess of Wales arrived in Pakistan yesterday for a two-day visit she insisted was strictly humanitarian, but which some local commentators claim is designed to boost the political ambitions of cricket-

ing legend turned social worker Imran Khan, writes Gerald Bourke in Islamabad. Wearing a pink shahar kameez — the loose shirt and baggy trousers that is Pakistan's national dress — and accompanied by Mr

Khan's mother-in-law, Lady Annabel Goldsmith, the princess arrived at Lahore airport to a warm embrace from Mr Khan's wife, Jemima, and a firm handshake from the ex-cricketer. At the VIP lounge the

princess was met by Punjab's finance minister, Hamid Afzal Sindh, named minister-in-waiting for her stay by the prime minister, Benazir Bhutto. It was a tense and delicate few minutes. The princess

had declined an invitation to stay at the governor's palatial residence. Mr Khan, aged 43, is raising funds for a cancer hospital in memory of his mother who died of the disease. "I have come to Pakistan

to help Imran Khan in his humanitarian work," Princess Diana said at the house of an industrialist friend of Mr Khan's, where she is staying. "There is no other purpose."

PHOTOGRAPH: RUSSELL BOYCE

Nuclear sale plans in tatters

Simon Beavis and Chris Barrie

THE Government's £2.5 billion nuclear privatisation plans were in chaos last night as ministers were forced to admit they had been considering the sale of Britain's reactors to Duke Power of the US, only to find the American company desperately trying to dissociate itself from any involvement in a private deal. The confusion was compounded by the release of a critical report from the Commons Trade and Industry Select Committee, which raised serious concerns about safety and the financial viability of the sell-off. With the Government in disarray, Labour called for the sell-off to be scrapped, while unions made it clear that they would fight any private deal. Responding to yesterday's Guardian report that the Government could scrap its plans to sell the nuclear industry through a public flotation in favour of a trade sale to Duke, the Energy Minister, Tim Eggar, confirmed that merchant bankers working for the US firm had approached the Government's interest. He denied that this meant the Government was about to abandon flotation of the eight most modern reactors but said he had a duty to consider alternative offers in the interest of taxpayers. He stressed that the approach had been "preliminary and indirect."

direct approach and it is of a very preliminary nature. As you would expect we have to get the best value for the taxpayer."

He said the Government was "steaming full-power ahead" for a flotation, timed for this summer, while investigating an alternative approach. The disclosure comes amid negotiations between the Government and the industry over a multi-billion pound reactor clean-up bill.

News of the American approach alarmed British Energy, the company set up to carry chosen atomic power stations into the private sector.

A spokesperson said the company was still pressing ahead with flotation plans.

Robert Hawley, chief executive of British Energy, yesterday sent a message of reassurance to staff, saying that the company was working flat out to be floated.

But MPs on the trade and industry committee told ministers that their plan for a special fund for clean-up costs was inadequate. Warning that the taxpayer could be forced to pay for the £14.6 billion liabilities bill, the committee pointed out that British Energy could go bust if it was faced with paying all of its clean-up costs. British Energy is holding out against government demands that the company pick up the entire clean-up bill and the row has left the flotation talks at an impasse.

The MPs are demanding that the company, and investors in it, should take on the full liabilities as well as assets, but this would depress the amount of money raised by the sale.

The committee's Labour chairman, Martin O'Neill, warned that there were "serious safety considerations" and called for boardroom changes and extra vigilance by the Government's inspectors to ensure the privatised company did not take risks in pursuit of profits.

The Government will start briefing the City on March 4 on the financial prospects for British Energy. But one City expert said that investors in the US and the UK were sceptical about the privatisation, which he described as "a nightmare", adding: "This is a horrible industry to sell. It makes Railtrack look like a piece of cake."

On BBC Radio, Mr Eggar said: "Yes, we have had an in-

Slurs in Imran biography win damages for Gatting

John Duncan Sports Correspondent

MIKE GATTING, the former England cricket captain, received apologies and five-figure damages yesterday over claims that he "epitomised and brought to the England game, the outlook of a racially prejudiced and uneducated Englishman". The claims had been made in a 1994 biography of Imran Khan, written by Ivo Tennant, and related to Gatting's famous run-in with the Pakistani umpire Shakoor Rana, in which he was seen on television gesticulating angrily during a heated nose-to-nose confrontation with the umpire. The book, said a High Court read out the statement had accused Gatting of "un-



Gatting and Imran during a 1980s Test. PHOTOGRAPH: DON MACPHEE

justifiably accusing the Pakistani umpire of being a cheat in circumstances in which he would have downplayed the same conduct by an English umpire as a mere mistake". The book also said that Gat-

ting "had been responsible for stripping from international cricket any remaining veneer of honour and decency". "The overall effect of these remarks," said the statement,

"was that [Gatting] had demonstrated himself to be devoid of the qualities of sportsmanship, honour and decency expected of a national cricket captain."

Tennant, and Cassels, the publishers of the book, accepted that Gatting was "justifiably upset that these views were included in the book" and included distribution of it once Gatting's feelings were known. "The defendants deeply regret the publication of these wounding and damaging allegations for which there was no justification," said their counsel Rupert Grey. "They wish to express publicly their unqualified withdrawal of the allegations in the book and to offer their sincere apologies to [Mr Gatting] for the distress and injury he has suffered." The book, which is still available in paperback with

the offending sections removed, has already caused a few headlines. In it Imran admitted that he cheated by tampering with the ball to make it swing.

Imran, who co-operated fully with the author of the book, has apologised in writing to Gatting, stressing that he holds Gatting "in great respect as a sportsman". The Shakoor incident occurred at Faisalabad in December 1987 when the umpire stopped play as the England bowler Eddie Hemmings was in his run-up, because a fielder was being moved. Gatting told the umpire that he had already informed the batsman, at which point Shakoor swore at the England captain and accused him of cheating and the altercation, overheard by on-the-pitch microphones, occurred. Gatting, the last England

captain to win the Ashes, retired from Test cricket a year ago. He has never enjoyed a career of quiet simplicity. He was sacked as England captain after the selectors accused him of behaving "irresponsibly" in inviting a woman to his room for a late night drink on the eve of a Test match innings, although Gatting has always maintained that nothing improper happened. His Test career was interrupted by his decision to join a rebel tour of South Africa, after which his wife received death threats and he had to hire a security firm to guard his house.

As well as his finger-pointing in 1987, Gatting is etched in cricket history as the victim of the "wonderball", Shane Warne's impossibly leg-spin first delivery in an English Test match, which clean-bowled him.

Health of Chinese dissident deteriorates in freezing cell

John Gittings

EXCEPTIONAL security surrounds China's most famous dissident, Wei Jingsheng, who is immured in a northern labour camp as fears grow over his health. His isolation block is guarded tightly behind four separate sets of walls, and he is said to be limping and in pain. Mr Wei, aged 45, was re-sentenced last December to 14 years in jail, after serving almost all of a 15-year sentence imposed in 1979. Then, Deng Xiaoping, China's paramount leader, put Mr Wei on a special list for criticising him — a list from which he has not been removed.

Visitors must enter an elaborate complex to reach Mr Wei's detention room. The whole complex is enclosed by the outer wall of the East Hebei No 1 Prison in Tangshan City.

Mr Wei spent several years there in the early 1990s, being moved from north-west China where local prison authorities feared he might die on their hands. Supporters of Mr Wei say his conditions are worse, and they fear his health has deteriorated dangerously.

Mr Wei complains of very painful knee joints. He has become thinner and has a suspected heart condition. Prison authorities say written applications must be made before a specialist can examine him.

During his previous imprisonment Mr Wei lost most of his teeth and was provided with a stove on which he could cook especially soft food. After the Beijing massacre the stove was taken away. His jailers said it had been given to him under the "poisonous influence" of the for-

Maximum security



Wei Jingsheng is being held in East Hebei Number 1 Prison, Nanpu Economic Zone, Tangshan City.

Wei Jingsheng faces 14 years in jail, where he has been almost continuously since 1979

mer party leader Zhao Ziyang (sacked for being sympathetic to the Tiananmen Square students). Mr Wei went on hunger strike until it was restored. This time Mr Wei again has no stove though both of the guards' rooms adjoining his are equipped. He says there is no point in going on hunger strike again. Without any stove his own room is very cold and damp in the bitter, north Chinese winter. Mr Wei was freed from his

previous sentence six months early, in September 1993. His family claims he was fed drugs to put on weight and seem more healthy.

After release he refused to remain silent, calling for democracy within and inside the Chinese Communist Party. He enraged the government by urging the US not to grant China Most Favoured Nation trading status and was re-detained in April 1994. His family was unable to



His brother, G2 page 5

How could this man who had, as far as I was concerned, invented bisexuality and glittery nail varnish end up as a wallpaper designer, living in Switzerland and accepting awards for long term service from the likes of Tony Blair? What has happened to the world? Suzanne Moore

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Labour says oil disaster could have been avoided had Government acted on all Lord Donaldson's recommendations

Ministers 'ignored Braer lesson'

Strong tug could have aided tanker

David Fairhall and Owen Bowcott

A POWERFUL salvage tug would have been available to help free the *Sea Empress* from rocks on the South Wales coast if the Government had immediately accepted tanker safety recommendations following the Braer disaster three years ago. Its 130,000 tonnes of oil are now threatening environmental catastrophe.

Two tugs were contracted at government expense for emergencies this winter. But they are based at Dover and Stornaway, in the Hebrides, and were not called for by the salvage team struggling to save the *Sea Empress* at Milford Haven. A third tug for the Western Approaches, recommended as a next step in Lord Donaldson's May 1984 report on the loss of the Braer, has not yet been provided.

Yesterday the Department of Transport conceded that filling that gap "will certainly be foremost in the minds" of the marine accident investigators preparing a report on the *Sea Empress* as the Government's handling of the problem came under renewed attack.

While the shipping minister, Lord Goschen, insisted that the department had accepted Lord Donaldson's report — Safer Ships, Cleaner Seas — Labour claimed crucial suggestions had been ig-

nored and said that more tugs should have been stationed around Britain's coastline.

Among Lord Donaldson's 103 recommendations was a proposal to provide an emergency towing capability where the danger of tanker accidents and pollution was greatest.

His report said: "We believe that the way forward is to consider first how the two key areas — the Dover Strait and North West Scotland — can best be provided with strong tugs. The Western Approaches should be considered next."

The following year, the then transport secretary, Brian Mawhinney, announced that he was accepting 86 of the 103 recommendations, and established two emergency tugs at Stornaway and Dover at a cost of £2 million a year.

But no contract was provided for the south-western coast, although Smit Tak and Cory Towage, two of the companies involved at Milford Haven, did agree informally to keep the *Coastguard* posted on the whereabouts of the large tug, *Kondor*.

And whereas tug operators were originally asked to tender for a three to five-year standby at Dover and Stornaway, the government contract was suddenly reduced to provide only six months winter cover.

In the event, the *Kondor* was working in Spain when the *Sea Empress* ran aground last week. Its place was taken by the Anglian Earl, which



Clean-up starts... two members of the Texaco Natural History Club picking up bird victims of the *Sea Empress* spill

PHOTOGRAPH: DAVID SIMS

took 24 hours to arrive. Asked yesterday if the provision of a permanent emergency tug in the Western Approaches would have made any difference, Stephen Dennis, a member of the *Sea Empress* salvage team, said: "It would have enabled one tug to be

here a few hours sooner. That's a very fine balance of time."

The ship had run aground at 8pm on Thursday and the Milford Haven harbour tugs owned by Cory had already pulled her off by 10pm.

In Milford Haven yesterday

Lord Goschen said the Government had accepted Donaldson's recommendation to station tugs in locations with the highest risk.

"We contracted an independent tugs study into where the priorities would be and we have set up tugs in the

Dover Strait and in the *Milches*."

But Labour accused the Government of failing to provide sufficient emergency cover. The shadow transport secretary, Clare Short, said Lord Donaldson should be recalled immediately to look

at the issue. "It's the Government's fault that the Donaldson recommendations were not implemented. He said you have to have tugs of a certain pulling strength standing by and there are not many around."

The Labour MP for New-

port West, Paul Flynn, said: "This has already become an environmental catastrophe as the Government has not brought the heavy tugs they should have. It was a precise recommendation in the report after the Braer disaster."

Extent of oil pollution makes spill drop in ocean

Tim Radford Science Editor

THE OIL that oozed from the shattered hull of the *Sea Empress* aground off Milford Haven spread like a black hazard to wildlife. But, marine biologists pointed out yesterday, even 50,000 tonnes of North Sea crude would be literally a drop in the ocean compared with the global assault on the environment by human use of oil.

One estimate puts the continuous, chronic poisoning of the environment by hydrocarbon pollution at 2.35 million tonnes a year. According to a US National Science Foundation study, only two per cent comes from the hulls of tankers or spills at oil rigs.

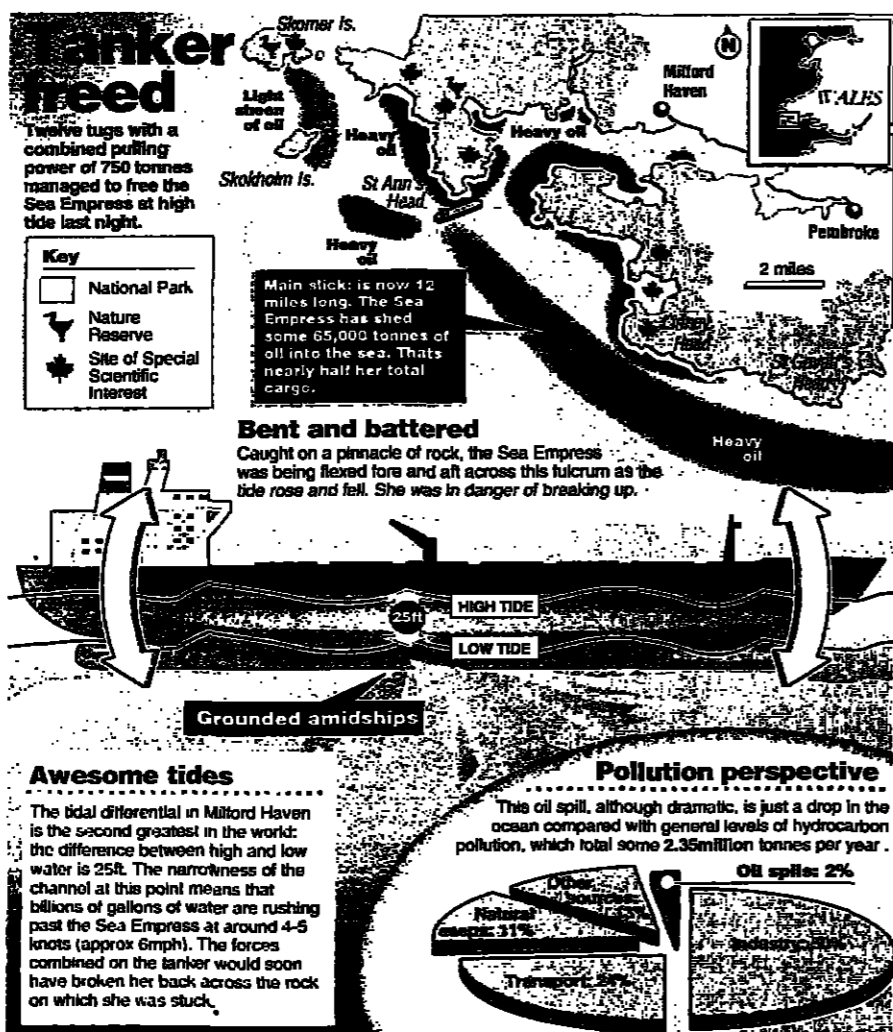
Eleven per cent comes from natural sources — tar sands and oil seeps — 13 per cent from the atmosphere, 24 per cent from all forms of transport and an astonishing 50 per cent slithers down the drains and rivers into the sea from cities and industries.

"Because it is a chronic input and not visible, like oil spills, it hasn't been noticed before," said Dr John Widdows, of the Plymouth Marine Laboratory, who has been working on ways to measure the effect of contamination.

"But actually the oil entering the environment from oil spills and tanker operations is only about 2 per cent of the global input. So you have to put it into perspective."

But each menacing slick — from the Torrey Canyon in 1967 off Land's End, the Amoco Cadiz off Ushant in 1978, the Exxon Valdez in Alaska in 1989, the Braer off Shetland in 1983 — sets off alarms.

Dr Widdows said: "There is the obvious effects in the



smothering and killing of marine life. But when you have cleared that up, there are less visible effects. The oil is raised into the water column and accumulated to quite high concentrations into the body tissues of animals, and these obviously have subtle toxic effects.

But each case is different. The destruction depends on the kind and quantity of oil spilled, the time of year of the accident, the weather, the temperature, the wind direction, the environment, the mix of local wildlife and even

the way humans react. "In terms of the clean-up operation, we have learned from the past that it is much better to leave it to nature than do a bulldozing job," he said. "There are some beaches and some areas where you want to use detergents. But a rocky shore is very difficult to clean up."

A light crude oil from the North Sea is likely to surrender quickly its more volatile toxins once exposed to air, sea and motion. What remains will be quickly subject to attack by microbes.

But other processes will also be at work. Crabs, bivalves and fish will also be concentrating quantities of poisons in their tissues; some of these will be more toxic than the original poisons.

The lesson of most of the major oil spills in temperate waters was that it took around 10 years for wildlife to recover.

"It really depends on the time of year the spill occurs, and what effect it has on the algae," Dr Widdows said. "It's very complex; you can't predict precisely."

Government's youngest member left at the helm to brave waves of criticism over handling of spill

Rebecca Smithers Political Correspondent

THE little-known shipping minister and hereditary peer Lord Goschen has found himself thrust into the media spotlight by the maritime catastrophe of the *Sea Empress* oil spill.

Giles John Harry Goschen was appointed as a junior transport minister in July 1984 at the age of 28, making him the youngest member of the Government.

At just 26 he had joined the whips office, ranking him with Lord Melchett — a Labour whip at the same age in 1974 — as the youngest government member since the war.

Apart from his spell in the whips office, Lord Goschen had also been spokesman on the environment, and in 1983 helped to steer the controversial rail privatisation legislation through the House of Lords.

Although he had no experience of shipping before taking on the job, his interest in transport extends to ownership of a private pilot's licence. A speed freak whose wife Sarah regularly rode on the pillion of his motor bike, he expressed regret at having to give up the machine for the chauffeur-driven car that comes with the current job.

The fourth Viscount Goschen comes from a family steeped in politics. His



Lord Goschen... hereditary peer suddenly in spotlight

father was a deputy chief whip in the Lords, his grandfather was an MP and his great-grandfather was Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Senior sources within the shipping industry say that

he has worked hard and with great enthusiasm to get to grips with the subject matter. But they conceded that he was much less experienced than Lord Calthorpe, who moved from transport to the Foreign Office and then back to transport again.

Over the last few days Lord Goschen has had to brave the winds of the West Wales coast and rebut growing criticism of the way the Government has tackled the salvage operation.

Until now, he was probably best remembered for his observations during a Lords debate on the dangers of using mobile telephones while driving.

Refusing to outlaw the practice, he prompted sniggers with his comments that "there are many things that can be done in a car with one hand which do not come under the category of specific offences."

Pass Notes, G2 page 3

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News in brief

Campaign to allay meningitis fears

A CAMPAIGN to allay fears about meningitis is to be launched in September. The Government's Chief Medical Officer Kenneth Calman said yesterday. The publicity drive will begin before the annual rise in cases in the months leading up to Christmas. It follows an increase in cases of meningococcal meningitis over the past four years — and a 36 per cent increase in the past year alone.

Fire cuts 'pose bomb risk'

CUTS in the fire service at a time when the IRA has renewed its bombing campaign in Britain will put lives at risk, a union leader warned yesterday, as it emerged that the London Fire Authority is likely to scale back its cost-saving programme today.

Apology for 15-hour journey

EUROSTAR passengers are to be compensated after their journey from London to Paris took 15 hours — including three hours stuck in the Channel tunnel.

Branson puts balloon on hold

RICHARD Branson yesterday postponed his bid to fly round the world by balloon. The Virgin tycoon said he was "desperately disappointed" but would return to his southern Moroccan launch site in October for another attempt on the last great unclaimed aviation record.

Bid to declare father dead

NIGEL GRIFFITHS, the Labour MP for Edinburgh South, has launched a legal action to have his missing father formally declared dead. Lionel Griffiths, a 70-year-old retired teacher from Edinburgh, disappeared while hillwalking in Austria in 1994.

Rowntree Foundation

A FRONT PAGE report in some editions of the Guardian yesterday, headed "Resignation calls grow", on opinion polls about the impact of the Scott Report, wrongly referred to "a separate ICM poll for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation".



Artist Damien Hirst, famed for his dead sheep sculpture, at the Hayward Gallery, London, where his first film will be shown in the Spellbound exhibition opening today. Hirst's 20-minute film tells the violent story of a man with three wives and an obsession with Airfix models. Its soundtrack includes Pulp and Alex James from Blur. PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID SILLITOE

Euro-court ruling raises Tory storm

Lawyers say decision lends weight to plea by killers of James Bulger

Clare Dyer Legal Correspondent

THE European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg provoked a storm yesterday when it ruled that the Home Secretary must lose the right to decide when prisoners convicted of murder under 18 are released.

The final decision out of the Home Secretary's hands.

The ruling will not affect the Home Secretary's right to set the "tariff" — the minimum sentence which must be served for retribution and deterrence — in the case of juvenile murderers like the killers of toddler James Bulger.

James Bulger's killers, on Mr Howard's right to fix a tariff of 15 years, when the trial judge recommended eight and the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Taylor, 10. The case of Thompson and Venables is at an early stage in Strasbourg.

The ruling, the latest in a series of defeats for the government in Strasbourg, prompted a call by the Tory leadership contender and former cabinet minister John Redwood for the Government to consider opting out of the Council of Europe, which enforces the European Convention on Human Rights.

Strasbourg machinery for another five years on the basis that Britain could not be seen to opt out while encouraging states of the former Soviet Union to opt in.

Tory MP Sir Ivan Lawrence, chairman of the Commons home affairs select committee, called for the European Convention on Human Rights to be incorporated into UK law, so human rights cases could be brought before UK judges in domestic courts.

awarded legal costs of £10,000 and £19,000 respectively, but no compensation for extra time spent in prison.

The decision is the latest in a series of defeats for the UK in the Strasbourg court, where only Italy has a worse record than Britain for losing cases.

Young killers denied human rights, say reformers

Clare Dyer

THE system for dealing with children who commit murder in England and Wales conflicts with international human rights standards and must be changed, the law reform group Justice says today.

Department of Health — calls for a system to bring Britain into line with other European countries.

It argues that the current system breaches principles of fairness in human rights law.

panel, which would monitor progress annually

Consideration to be given to whether the age of criminal responsibility — 10 in England and Wales and eight in Scotland — needs to be raised

pan country has indeterminate sentences for juveniles which are not judicially supervised, the element of British system declared a breach of human rights by the Strasbourg court.

The report points out that children who commit homicide are likely to be seriously disturbed. It criticises the way Robert Thompson and Jon Venables, aged 10 when they killed the toddler James Bulger, were tried aged 11 in an adult crown court and had their minimum term in custody — the "tariff" — fixed by the Home Secretary.



James Bulger: His killers were tried in adult court

Abolition of the mandatory sentence of detention at her Majesty's pleasure, with discretion to impose the appropriate sentence, including indefinite custody

Decisions on release to be taken by an independent

Britain has one of the lowest ages of criminal responsibility and among the longest maximum sentences for juvenile homicide. No other Euro-

The fixing of their tariff was done in a "public and political" manner.

£20,000 prize for architecture

Maev Kennedy Heritage Correspondent

THE first annual cash prize for British architecture has been launched in an attempt to increase the media profile of good design.

The first essential for either the Booker or the Turner prize hype is a public row between the judges, but the Riba has not yet clinched the deal with "a major arts world figure" to head the panel, which includes Owen Luder, its president.

Anyone may nominate a building for the prize, which is sponsored by the Sunday Times. National category awards are being established for the first time, for housing, conservation, commercial, health, education, sport and leisure, and civic and community building, and the building of the year will generally come from this list, though the judges may opt for an outlier.

consider. The Riba regional award panels, will continue as before.

The organisers are keen to see smaller and more unusual buildings than the office and housing schemes which traditionally dominated awards. Buildings likely to be nominated for the first Stirling Prize include a headquarters for John Menzies in Edinburgh, by Bennetts Associates; a library for Jesus College, Cambridge, by Evans and Shaker; a nursery school in Kilburn by Alford, Hall, Monaghan, Morris, and a Citizens' Advice Bureau at Chessington, Surrey, by Brantome Architects.

Smokers have 'odd brains'

Tim Radford Science Editor

NEW York scientists have discovered there is more to smoking than just a taste for nicotine. The brains of smokers really are different: they contain 40 per cent less of an enzymatic enzyme called monoamine oxidase B.

Dopamine is also involved in Parkinson's disease: there is more at stake in this kind of research than just stained fingers.

George Koob, of the Scripps research institute at La Jolla, points out in Nature that smoking is associated with increased alertness, sustained performance during fatigue, and better intellectual responses. He writes: "Chronic MAO B inhibition in the brain may explain the resistance of cigarette smokers to Parkinson's disease, and may contribute to the performance-enhancing properties of cigarette smoking."

Driver denies murder of French girl

Duncan Campbell Crime Correspondent

ALORRY driver appeared in court yesterday charged with the murder of French student Céline Figard. He was remanded in custody for seven days.

Ms Figard had been on a holiday in Britain to visit a cousin in Hampshire. She was last seen getting into a white Mercedes lorry at the Chicheley service station on the M1.

Bride dead in car after wedding quarrel

A BRIDE was found dead in a fume-filled car after she discovered her husband had left the wedding reception for "five minutes shut-eye", an inquest heard yesterday.

Tommy returned home and the argument continued with such ferocity the police had to be called.

A post mortem revealed Mrs Wilson died of carbon monoxide poisoning. She had 3 1/2 times the driving alcohol limit in her body.

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No buses to ferry Serbs out of capital

Julian Borger in Vogosca

THE Serbs of Vogosca waited forlornly in yesterday's heavy snow for their final bus out of Sarajevo, but their leaders who had given the order to leave failed to provide the transport.

Tomorrow the northern Sarajevo suburb will become the first Serb area in the city to fall under full government control. Government police will move in under the supervision of UN police monitors.

The blue-uniformed UN police stood on street corners yesterday handing out pamphlets urging the Serbs to stay to help rebuild a multi-ethnic capital, but most Serbs in Vogosca have chosen to believe their own leaders who have called for a mass exodus. The well-off and the well-connected were loading possessions into private vehicles, but the rest of Vogosca's estimated 4,000 people have put their faith in the Serb political headquarters in Pale, which has promised to take them to Serb-controlled northern Bosnia.

Vogosca's acting mayor, Rajko Koprivica, was trying to get through to Pale to persuade his superiors to tone down the propaganda campaign, to calm his people's fears.

"Most people here want to leave," Mr Koprivica said. "But we thought we had a lot more time."

Yesterday he faced an angry crowd shouting abuse and demanding help to resettle. Their panic is fuelled by fears of reprisals.

Gojko Kljickovic, the Bosnian Serb organising the political headquarters in Pale, said in a broadcast three days ago: "We must not allow a single Serb to remain in the territories which fall under Muslim-Croat control, because we know what treatment they would get under the regime of Alija Izetbegovic (the Bosnian president) and his mujahedin," he said.

Mr Kljickovic orchestrated the Serb exodus from the Croatian region of Krajina last August, with a similar use of radio messages.

The Bosnian Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic, yesterday denied aggravating Serb fears to Sarajevo, but a spokesman for the UN International Police Task Force, Alexander Ivankovic, said that Pale had been trying to strong-arm Serb mayors who attempted to open talks with the Bosnian government and the international community.

"It is the Pale people who are pushing the local leaders to get their people out. The local leaders are being threatened. One had his house broken into," Mr Ivankovic said. The mujahedin mentioned by Mr Kljickovic have almost all left the country, as stipulated by the Dayton peace settlement, but the spectre of Islamic fighters had caught the imagination of the crowd sheltering in the entrance to Vogosca town hall.

"Who is going to keep us safe at night?" asked one old woman. "Not them," she said, pointing at an Irish member of the unarmed UN police force. "What good can they be without guns?"

Nato's implementation force, I-For, says it can provide only a general framework of peace and stability. It refuses to take responsibility for the security of individual civilians, arguing it is a police role.

The UN task force says it is there only to monitor the cease-fire, not to enforce human rights.

Those two positions leave a gap, and the frightened Serbs of Vogosca do not intend to wait around long enough to fall through it.



Basque defiance... Jon Idigoras of the separatist party Herri Batasuna is arrested after the release of an electoral video. PHOTOGRAPH BY XABIER FERNANDEZ

Spanish Church denies leading flock to polls

Anti-abortion Catholic bishops are accused of electioneering for rivals to the ruling Socialists, writes Adela Gooch in Madrid

SPANISH bishops have denied that they are using the pulpit to campaign for the conservative opposition Popular Party in the run-up to the general election on March 5. Their anti-abortion and anti-corruption sermons to Roman Catholic churchgoers have been seen as blatant electioneering by the ruling Socialist Party.

Although its leader, José María Aznar, is a practising Catholic he has said legislation will remain as it is, in keeping with his aim of attracting centrist voters. Mr Yanes is clear about the Church's role in a political campaign.

"We draw attention to the problems of unemployment, especially among the young, corruption, terrorism and the family," he says. "We emphasise values such as the right to life, human rights and the right to receive education in moral issues. What we do not do is give any concrete indication of what party people should vote for."

His subordinates are not always so careful. The bishop of Jerez de la Frontera urged his flock not to vote for the Socialist MP Carmen Romero, wife of the prime minister, Felipe González, because of her party's stand in favour of making abortion easily available in the first 12 weeks.

Mr Rafael Bellido Caro had been provoked by Ms Romero's assertion that "the Church made a mistake over Galileo and is making a similar error on abortion". Their clash, however, belies generally harmonious relations between Church and state after a period of estrangement. Mr Yanes's hardline predecessor was barely on speaking terms with the government, whose more radical members were

violently anti-clerical, in keeping with Spanish liberal tradition. Measures to introduce divorce, favour sexual freedom, promote the use of condoms and minimise the Church's role in education did nothing to help.

Although only about 30 per cent of Spaniards attend Church regularly, about 90 per cent still declare themselves Catholics, and until recently most were educated in religious institutions.

The Church enjoys a near monopoly in religious matters. Only in 1992 did Spain acknowledge that the expulsion of thriving Jewish and Arab communities, 500 years earlier, had deprived it of rich scholarship and a tradition of tolerance.

turn to us at the important times — birth, marriage, death. And their scale of values — particularly when it comes to educating children — stems from Catholicism."

But the Church's decades-long alliance with General Franco's repressive fascist state alienated many Spaniards. It is a mistake though to associate the Church exclusively with the right. There has always been a radical left-wing clergy which sided with the poor, and many priests were heavily involved in the nationalist cause, both in the Basque country and in Catalonia.

Mr Yanes, once described as the "red priest" because of his close association with Cardinal Enrique Tarancón, primate of Spain at the time of Franco's death, who placed the Church firmly behind the transition to democracy, is known for his liberal views.

Iranians out after Nato raid

Reuter in Tehran

THREE Iranians returned to Tehran yesterday after being held by Nato forces who raided what they called a "terrorist training camp" in Bosnia. Iran's official news agency Irna said.

Tehran's ambassador to Sarajevo, Mohammad Ebrahim Taherian, accompanied them back to Iran and said they were detained "in an insulting and inhumane manner". Nato forces last week detained eight Bosnian intelligence agents and three Iranians in the raid.

Iran had said the centre was a Bosnian police anti-terrorism training camp. Bosnia's Muslim-led government said it was an intelligence school being shut down.

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EU seven defuse extradition row

John Palmer in Brussels

SEVEN European Union countries defused a crisis yesterday which had threatened their plans to abolish internal border controls.

An emergency meeting of justice ministers from the seven Schengen countries — France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, Portugal and Spain — agreed to press the EU to improve co-operation among its member states on extradition.

Following a Belgian court's refusal last week to extradite two suspected Basque terrorists to Spain.

The court's decision to free the two led to a diplomatic row between Brussels and Madrid and came within days of the assassination by the Basque terrorist organisation

ETA of a leading Spanish constitutional court judge. The Belgian court ruled that the Spanish authorities had not proved any direct connection between the two suspects and terrorism. Madrid responded by threatening to suspend all judicial co-operation with Belgium, although both countries are members of the Schengen agreement and there are about 80 other extradition cases under consideration.

After yesterday's meeting of the justice ministers in The Hague, the Spanish secretary for justice, Teresa Fernandez, said Spain would not now block co-operation with Belgium on extradition. She also dismissed suggestions that Spain would quit the Schengen agreement.

The Dutch justice secretary, Michiel Fatijn, told a

press conference: "We have agreed to intensify co-operation between the seven Schengen partners... on extradition. We have also agreed to press the European Union as a whole to adopt a convention tightening extradition procedures."

The row was the latest in a succession of problems frustrating attempts to sweep away frontier controls among the Schengen countries. France is refusing to lift some remaining border controls, because it is dissatisfied with liberal Dutch regulations governing traffic in soft drugs.

Last summer France delayed the scrapping of land border controls after terrorist incidents attributed to Algerian Islamic fundamentalists. However, the seven countries have now all dropped passport checks on internal flights

within the Schengen area. Only last week a "drugs summit" between five of the Schengen states was called off because of disagreements over whether further measures were needed to stem cross-border traffic. Although Italy, Greece and the Nordic countries plan to join the Schengen agreement, Britain and Ireland insist on retaining border controls.

The European Commission has warned that until the EU's internal borders are swept away, its citizens will not enjoy the full benefits of the single market. However, it will not be easy to harmonise rules governing extradition in politically sensitive cases, as a series of rows in the past 25 years between Britain and Ireland over cases involving alleged IRA members has shown.

World news in brief

Pavarotti admits passion not pasta enticed him to stray

LUIGIANO Pavarotti (right) has at last admitted to a love affair with his young secretary, writes *John Hooper in Rome*. Today's edition of the weekly magazine, *Chi*, will carry photographs of the tenor locked in an embrace with Nicoletta Mantovani during a holiday on Barbados.

Approached by the magazine, Mr Pavarotti, aged 60, said: "Nicoletta and I are very happy and it shows. To hide it and deny it would be a crime."

Rumours of the affair were repeatedly denied by the singer and his wife of 34 years, Adua. Last September she said he "might

leave home for a bowl of spaghetti. But for a woman? Never." Ms Mantovani told *Chi*: "Before knowing him, I was just a girl. Thanks to him, I have become a woman."

Yeltsin plays ball for loan

Boris Yeltsin made a public display of backing the prime minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin, yesterday as the head of International Monetary Fund, Michel Camdessus, arrived in Moscow to finalise negotiations for a \$8 billion loan, writes *David Hearst*.

President Yeltsin denied reports of a rift with his prime minister, whom the IMF sees as the sole guarantor of light monetary policy.

Cabinet crisis

The cabinet of India's prime minister, P. V. Narasimha Rao, was under siege after a corruption scandal claimed four ministers in three days. The urban affairs and employment minister resigned yesterday, joining others who had quit earlier. — *Reuters*.

Fight goes on

The Palestinian activist Lella Khaled, who won notoriety for several hijackings 25 years ago and is now returning to her native land, said violence was still an option in the battle for a Palestinian state, despite changes due to the peace process. — *AP*.

Defence reforms

The French president, Jacques Chirac, will today announce a radical shake-up of the armed forces and defence industries, including a plan to end compulsory military service that may be put to a referendum. — *Reuters*.

Dramatic rescue

Indonesian troops swooped down in a helicopter on a rebel hideout yesterday, and rescued a Frenchman and an Indonesian kidnapper the previous night, an officer said. The kidnappers were identified as belonging to the same organisation as another band holding 12 hostages, including six Europeans. — *AP*.

Buried in snow

Rescuers were searching yesterday for eight Ukrainian schoolchildren who had been buried in the snow by an avalanche in the Carpathian mountains, but hopes of saving them were dim. The teacher of the group of children aged 12 and 13 dug himself out and rescued two of the students. — *AP*.

End to suffering

The parliament of Australia's Northern Territory has passed the world's first law giving terminally ill adults the right to end their lives. The law, which was passed on Tuesday, allows those of sound mind with only a year to live to ask doctors to end their lives. — *Reuters*.

HOUSE 1

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FRILL HOUSE

The Race

Louisiana (Feb 8): Buchanan
Iowa (Feb 12): Dole



Candidate	Votes	% of vote
Pat Buchanan	55,997	27%
Bob Dole	53,522	26%
Lamar Alexander	46,515	23%
Steve Forbes	25,135	12%

Tally with 98% of votes counted.

The Schedule

- Feb 24: Delaware
- Feb 27: North Dakota, South Dakota & Arizona
- Mar 5: Junior Tuesday
Colorado, Connecticut, Georgia, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, Massachusetts, Rhode Island & Vermont
- Mar 7: New York
- Mar 12: Super Tuesday
Florida, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Oregon, Tennessee & Texas
- Mar 19: Ohio, Illinois, Michigan & Wisconsin
- Mar 26: California

Martin Walker in Manchester sees the Republican electorate respond to far-right rhetoric and lashings of charm

Smiling Buchanan savours win

THE fire marshals closed the overcrowded ballroom just after 7pm, nearly two hours before Pat Buchanan squeezed through the cheering mob to the podium to claim the stunning primary victory which the television networks had just declared.

Bittersweet, an ageing rock band with grey ponytails and bear bellies, let loose a final guitar riff and rolled the drums as chants of "Go Pat, go" began to make the walls tremble.

"Do not wait for orders from headquarters, my friends. Mount up and ride for the sound of the guns," Mr Buchanan said with that sudden guffaw that takes the edge off so many of his statements.

Rarely can a politician have been so inflammatory in speech, yet so engaging in demeanor.

"They threw everything they had at us, my friends.

They told you I was an extremist. They tried to smear us and to smear my friends. The establishment pumped millions into barrage after barrage of television ads against me and got their media cronies to go after me, and you saw through them.

"You stood firm under fire. You fought like veterans. You held that Merrimack river line from Nashua to Manchester to Concord, and you never gave an inch. You took their barrage, stopped their charge, and then we routed them at bayonet point out of this great state of New Hampshire."

He went on: "You want to understand the spirit behind this campaign of ours, my friends, you can go to other Concord, where America's first citizen militia held their line against King George and the greatest army of the day. We are their true heirs, my friends. We are the freedom fighters."

This audience was not

merely trailer park America. There were teachers, preachers and young computer executives, teenage girls wearing crucifixes and anti-abortion badges, and local matrons. They were all going crazy for Pat Buchanan.

"I have been for Pat since

research in economics at Harvard. He had planned to volunteer for Bill Clinton's campaign, but now agrees firmly with Mr Buchanan's defence of American jobs against the ravages of free trade and corporate downsizing.

"I'm for Pat because he

ens the powers that be," Mr Overlan said.

Pat Buchanan in full flow is a speaker so compelling that you almost miss the way the bywords of the far right are dropped with eerie precision into every speech.

There is always a reference

to "silent screams of the innocent unborn", for the radical anti-abortion groups, and to "corporate greed", to rally his growing bands of trade union members.

There is always a reference to Michael Auer, the American soldier who was court-martialled and dishonourably discharged for refusing to wear United Nations insignia to serve in the Balkans.

"The ones we should dishonourably discharge are Bill and Hillary Clinton," Mr Buchanan says before promising that never again will American troops take part in a UN mission, or "American sovereignty be surrendered to some New World Order".

Outside the banquet hall and ballroom, a convoy of cars assembled for the first time.

Big black jeeps with flashing blue lights huddled protectively around an armoured limousine. The secret service

had arrived to protect the new front-runner.

Mr Buchanan reached out to a shaken Republican establishment yesterday, saying he could put together a coalition to beat President Clinton in the November 3 elections.

"I would beg those fellows in Washington: look it is clear Pat Buchanan represents working-class votes," he said on the NBC television Today programme from Columbia, South Carolina, where he had already begun campaigning for the state's March 3 primary.

"I can bring 'em all back. If these fellows will simply open the door, we can put together a coalition that will beat Bill Clinton. But for heaven's sake, stop the panicky name-calling, behave like adults, come on out and let's debate issues: are these trade treaties good for America?"

God's own coalition, page 9, Leader comment, page 8

Bob Dole and Lamar Alexander, they're the Beatles. Pat Buchanan is the Stones. He's the one that really frightens the powers that be'

'82, because I agree with him on the cultural war in this country and the right to bear arms," Leroy Crenshaw said. A 49-year-old black gym instructor from Springfield, he used to be a staunch Democrat. "I know he's no bigot."

A young south Asian wearing Buchanan staff credentials turned out to be a British citizen. Born in Goa, Paul De Sa is doing post-doctoral

reminds me of Bobby Kennedy. He's an idealist who means what he says, and I think Bobby would be backing Pat now on Gatt and Nafta if he'd lived. God rest his soul," Larry Overlan, a 46-year-old Irish-American from Boston, said.

"There's another thing. Dole and Alexander, they're the Beatles. Pat is the Stones. He's the one that really fright-

to the battle of Concord bridge on 19 April, 1775, which started the American Revolution, by defending the arsenal of the Massachusetts militia against confiscation by British Redcoats.

That appeals to the gun lobby, and to modern militia militants who know why April 19 was also the date of the Oklahoma City bombing last year.

Curse of the 'granite state' crushes Dole

RUNNER-UP/The party is all but over for the senator, writes Jonathan Freedland

LIKE all political wakes, they billed it as a victory party. They waved their "Dole for President" signs, drank beer and filled the ballroom of the Holiday Inn in central Manchester with loud, techno music. Fittingly, Are You All Ready For This, was the track of choice.

It was clear it was going to be a tough night from the moment they cut the sound from the outsized television sets dotted around the room. It was a gesture that said, "We'd rather not know."

Winning campaigns like to huddle around the television news, cheering as the pundits and spinners predict surges and triumphs for their candidate. But Bob Dole's supporters knew they would receive no such word from CNN on Tuesday night, and kept the scoreboard firmly on mute.

As the returns piled up, Mr Dole stayed a stubborn point or two behind Pat Buchanan, the television firebreather who is making life in the Dole clan so doleful. For a moment they would be tied, a cheer would rise, and then a new precinct would turn in its numbers. The computer would correct itself and the Dole-ites would go back to their beer. It was like watching the scoring at the Eurovision song contest; you knew it was pointless, but you watched anyway.

"We haven't had the absentee votes yet," said one optimist, but even he knew it was a lost cause. The curse of New Hampshire had humbled Mr Dole for the third time in 16 years.

Eventually, close to 10pm, the moment for concession came. Congressman Bill Zelliff, a Dole stalwart, had worked himself into a red-faced lather, whipping up the troops to give the candidate a big welcome. He had led the chants of "Dole '96, Dole '96" (which sounded alarmingly like a statement of the candi-

date's age) and the football-style. "D-O-L-E, D-O-L-E, D-O-L-E", repeated at rapid-fire speed. By the end of it all, Mr Zelliff looked positively flush with defeat.

Mr Dole emerged on the platform, handsaking his way through the assorted congressmen, governors and former senators who had all endorsed him. Their presence was meant to show his strength. Instead it was unwelcome proof of the scale of his defeat despite the support of the state's entire Republican establishment, the voters of New Hampshire had rejected Mr Dole — one of America's most experienced leaders — in favour of a television pundit who has never been elected to anything.

"Now I know why they call this the granite state," Mr Dole said. "Because it's so hard to crack." The crowd applauded that. They remembered Mr Dole's defeat to George Bush here in 1988, the one that ended his last presidential campaign.

But that was the only real acknowledgement of defeat. "We're on our way," Mr Dole said at least twice, behind a clip-on smile. He gave the thumbs-up and told his supporters: "You're looking at the nominee of the Republican Party right now."

He said he had run into Mr Buchanan earlier that evening and offered his congratulations. Then he laid into him.

"We're engaged in a fight for the heart and soul of the Republican Party," he declared. "In the next month, we will decide if we are the party of fear or of hope, if we are the party that keeps people out or brings people in," he added in a clear reference to the exclusivist doctrines of his rightwing rival.

With whispered promptings from his wife Elizabeth, at his side, Mr Dole signalled that he would not go quietly.

"Everybody who knows Bob Dole knows I'm a fighter. We only began the fight."

Behind him a sign declared that he was Solid, Seasoned, and a Straight Shooter — all good qualities, but hardly a match for the fiery populism of Mr Buchanan. And Mr Dole's ammunition is rapidly running out.



Winning ways... The Republican presidential hopeful Pat Buchanan (top) laughs as he declares victory at his election night rally in Manchester during the New Hampshire primary, while Senator Bob Dole (below) consoles supporters after coming second

The Tennessee waltzer is determined to dance on

ALSO-RANS/Jonathan Freedland in Manchester looks at the tough task facing third-placed Lamar Alexander

THE New Hampshire primary appears to have knocked out one presidential contender and stalled the rise of another — even though both claimed "tremendous" victories.

Malcolm "Steve" Forbes, the publishing tycoon, and Lamar Alexander, the former Tennessee governor, both staked a lot on New Hampshire, but neither enjoyed dramatic success.

Mr Alexander said his strong third-place showing, just three points behind Bob Dole with 23 per cent, proved he had gone from "relative obscurity" to become a key contender. It was now time for Mr Dole to step aside, he said, so he and Pat Buchanan could fight "a battle for the soul of the party".

Boosted by his surprise third place in last week's contest in Iowa, Mr Alexander packed halls across New Hampshire. Many moderate Republicans were apparently persuaded by his ultra-simple slogan: "A-B-C, Alexander Beats Clinton". He now boasts that all that stands between him and the nomination is Bob Dole, whose candidacy is splitting moderate support and handing victory to Mr Buchanan.

"Bob's got no ideas. Pat's got the wrong ideas and I've got fresh ideas," Mr Alexander said yesterday.

"It's between Pat and me." But privately Mr Alexander's aides admit it will be an enormous task to persuade the party to make him, rather than Mr Dole, the standard bearer for moderate conservatism. The reason is simple: Mr Alexander has not won anywhere.

His strategists said an upset second place in New Hampshire would have brought fresh momentum and cash. Two successive

has no base and has done little campaigning. Aides were last night considering pulling out of Arizona.

They hope to hold on until the South Carolina contest on March 2, when Mr Alexander's southern credentials could swing a victory. But party insiders have severe doubts. They fear that allegations relating to his financial dealings while governor of Tennessee could mushroom into a Whitewater-style scandal. Records show he once made \$600,000 from an investment of a single dollar. In another parallel to the Clintons, there are also questions about the financial cost of Mr Alexander's wife Honey.

The outlook is bleakest for Steve Forbes, once seen as the front-runner in New Hampshire. He came fourth on Tuesday night with just 12 per cent. After burning bright with his call for a flat-rate income tax, the multi-millionaire now appears to have flamed out. He turned off countless voters with a negative TV advertising campaign and yesterday one top official in his campaign condemned the strategy as "poor".

Mr Forbes insists he will keep running all the way to the party convention in San Diego in August. But he speaks less now about winning the presidency and more about influencing the debate. He is said to be chastened by the fact that after spending nearly \$25 million of his own money, all he has achieved is a black mark on his once-pristine reputation.

The outlook is bleakest for Steve Forbes, once seen as front-runner

European papers worried by success of 'anti-free trader'

Paul Taylor in Paris

EUROPE shuddered at the thought that the isolationist, protectionist Pat Buchanan might capture the US Republican presidential nomination.

Italy's left-leaning La Repubblica compared the outspoken opponent of free trade and international institutions to Hitler.

"In other times, in another country, Buchanan

would be defined as a 'national socialist'. In today's United States, he is seen as a marvel, as something radically new," it lamented.

France's Le Monde called him a "pure, hardline nationalist" and noted in an editorial entitled "The dangers of American fundamentalism" that history showed success in New Hampshire was often a stepping-stone to the White House. — Reuter.

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Pat Buchanan's grassroots fund-raising operation, Dial 1-800-Go-Pat-Go, is now raking in over \$100,000 a day.

Martin Walker

Page 9

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The tariff for murder

Sentencing is too vital to be left to politicians

WHO SHOULD set sentences for murderers: judges or politicians? Slowly but inexorably, the Home Secretary's power over the release of convicted killers is being eroded. Yesterday the European Court of Human Rights cut them back further in a ruling which will apply to the two boys who killed James Bulger: once juveniles have served their "tariff" (the fixed term for retribution and deterrence), the final indeterminate period which depends on the risks posed by offenders can no longer be set by Home Secretaries.

Predictably, Conservative politicians lined up behind the Home Secretary yesterday. Patrick Nicholls, vice chairman of the Conservative backbench legal committee described the judgment as "the last straw — it's yet another example of countries, many of which have had a deplorable record on human rights, presuming to lecture our Home Secretary." There was a similar echo from John Redwood, who talked about the need to reassert parliamentary democracy and, *sic*, British judicial independence. And even Sir Ivan Lawrence, chairman of the Commons Home Affairs Committee, defended the Home Secretary noting he was accountable to Parliament and reflected public opinion. Could this be the same Sir Ivan, whose committee only two months ago declared "responsibility for setting the tariff and for taking decisions on release should be removed from the Home Secretary".

Contrary to the mantras from the right, removing politicians from a sentencing role is not just an issue which foreign judges regard as crucial but most British policy-making bodies do too: two all party parliamentary committees have recommended it, the House of Lords unsuccessfully attached an amendment to this effect to the last criminal justice bill, and the British judiciary remains united on the reform.

Michael Howard has done more than most to strengthen the reformers' hands when he blatantly changed the old rules and declared that in reaching a release decision he would not only take into account the potential risk posed by an offender but "public acceptability" as well. Only a Michael Howard would be oblivious to the historic role of the criminal justice system in lifting justice above a lynch law mentality and the thirst for revenge.

There is, of course, a proper role for politicians in sentencing and that is in establishing broad policy and a legal framework of tariffs for particular cases. But in a democracy, they should play no part in sentencing individuals. That is what tinpot dictators do, but mature democracies are supposed to have risen above such dangerous practices by separating the judicial from executive roles. Sentencing is a judicial process, not a political exercise. In the words of the last report from Sir Ivan Lawrence's committee: "while the Home Secretary might be in a position to respond to the public will, public opinion is not necessarily the surest guide in making such a decision."

It is only a matter of time before the Home Secretary loses all responsibility for individual sentences. Already the judges — both British as well as European — have removed his right to decide the tariff or the indeterminate period for discretionary lifers and now he has lost the power of release for mandatory life sentences. He still holds the power to set the tariff for juveniles and adults on mandatory life sentences. That, too, should be removed. Reinhold Niebuhr, author of the famous prayer on the importance of distinguishing between what can and cannot be changed, put it succinctly: "Man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible, but man's inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary."

Buchanan's quack cures win

But don't write off Dole: time and money are on his side

PAT BUCHANAN has won in New Hampshire by using all the populist tricks in the book but his victory was more than a trick. On this occasion the religious right was not an important factor: only one in 10 primary voters mentioned abortion as a significant issue — though he will woo a much larger constituency in the Southern states. In New Hampshire Mr Buchanan spoke principally to the confused middle ground of Republicanism, particularly among lower-income and less well-educated voters. His chauvinist, reactionary and bigoted message is profoundly disturbing. But the question remains why, in the country which claims to embody the world's most successful economic model, so many people should feel so inarticulately, such discontent.

There are comforting reasons not to face up to this awkward enquiry. First is the simple mathematics. Mr Buchanan and Lamar Alexander need each other to stay in the race, stripping away support from both of Bob Dole's political wings. Yet logic suggests that, sooner or later, a three-cornered fight will become a two-way contest and that this will be greatly to Mr Dole's advantage — if he can hold his nerve till then. There is the further calculation that even if Mr Buchanan breaks through, the Republican convention may bolt away from him or — if the party establishment grinds its teeth — his candidature will have no chance against a resurgent Bill Clinton. Unless, that is,

Mr Clinton contrives to throw it away (which no one could swear to be wholly beyond him). Others find comfort in hard facts of cash. Mr Dole has been better at raising funds than votes: his resources are six times those of Mr Alexander and many times more than those of Mr Buchanan.

Yet it is still a long haul ahead with 14 primaries and two caucuses by March 5 and another quack dozen to go. Mr Dole's campaign machine is better equipped to stand the pace but it is also now the one shortest on morale. And Mr Buchanan's voice will still have to be accommodated at the party convention, shifting Mr Dole (or, in an outside-chance scenario, Mr Alexander) further to the right.

There remains that nagging question: what are the illnesses in US society to which Mr Buchanan is able to offer his quack-doctor cures? One answer lies in the generalised sense of disquiet among over half of the population whose incomes have declined in real terms over the last two decades. Another — not unrelated — is the increasing remoteness of decision-making in a globalised economy. It may seem absurd that voters in the world's most powerful country should feel they are being marginalised "for the benefit of transnational corporations". But Mr Buchanan is not entirely joking when he says his critics cannot decide whether he is a socialist or on the right. People feel something is wrong somewhere: that is his chance — and America's problem.

When the Sky really is the limit

Stand by for what could be the longest running live soap ever

IN AN age dominated by unemployment and temporary work contracts, it is always rewarding to report success stories among young people at work. Step forward Elisabeth who at the age of 27 is about to become general manager, broadcasting, at BSkyB, the satellite television company. Step forward also Lachlan, recently appointed deputy chief executive of News Corporation's Australian subsidiary at only 24 when most graduates are in their corporate nappies. The smart money, however, is going on James, aged 23, who may go even higher up the corporate ladder. There is nothing to link these three people except that they all share the same surname — Murdoch, since you ask — and they have all been tipped to take over the helm at News Corporation should Rupert be suddenly whisked from Sky into the heavens.

It would be uncouth to suggest that Elisabeth and Lachlan have got there

by anything other than ability, hard work plus a liberal share of the paternal genes that helped to build America. It passes belief that Mr Murdoch, a staunch republican who hates inherited monarchical power, may be setting up his own media dynasty. Is the scourge of the establishment, who passionately believes in getting there by what-you-know rather than what-you-know about to turn News International into Nepotism International?

Perish the thought. Too obvious. Mr Murdoch always thinks three moves ahead of the pack and there is always a business motive. Maybe he is teasing us up for the world's first Live Soap as two sons and a daughter slug out a racy succession battle on live TV (yes, BSkyB), cross-promoted by the Sun, analysed by the Times, distributed in the US by Fox, book by HarperCollins. Vertical integration incarnate. Jeffrey Archer, eat your heart out.



Letters to the Editor

Jarvis, a true Brit

I WAS at Jarvis Cocker's table at Monday's Brit Awards (Singer hits back over Brit stage 'attack', February 21), and from what I could see his decision to walk on stage wasn't premeditated, despite what some papers have said. You could see him getting pissed off — we were all getting pissed off.

The Brits are intended to celebrate British music artistically and commercially. But the Brit organisers at Sony had obviously set their sights on making it Michael Jackson's comeback. Now, I'm signed to Sony, and it makes me pretty ashamed that they are using the Brits to promote an American artist's failed comeback at the expense of Jarvis.

Jackson's set shocked everyone; it was so sick, especially when the children came out. So Jarvis just wandered up, and started dancing as if he was in the *Common People* video. The press said he made V-signs, but that was just his dance action. The man couldn't hurt a feather — I've never heard Jarvis swear, for a start.

Then some of those on stage with Jackson took off their cloaks, and you could see they were *really* security guards. I didn't see anyone fall over, and I was 20 feet away. By three-quarters of the way through the song, when Jackson revealed himself as Jesus Christ, Jarvis was back in his seat. There was no "big scuffle". The only children crying were for poor old Michael Jackson and his bruised ego.

I'm proud of what Jarvis did: and everyone around me was saying they wish they'd done it.

Mark Beard
c/o Rough Trade Management
66 Golborne Road,
London W10 5PS.

WE completely support Jarvis's humorous attempt to undermine Michael Jackson's quasi-religious pretensions, and we feel that it is sinister that Jarvis was arrested and threatened with criminal charges for daring to take the piss. Those within the British music industry who have colluded in this heavy-handed, mob-like response to a prank should be ashamed of themselves.

THE Jacko vs Jarvis fracas is too pregnant with cheap irony not to run and run. Reversing national roles enshrined since the War of Independence, we have the thrusting independent tweaking the tail of the overmighty cultural imperialist. But we also have *folie de grandeur* affronted by the Tall Poppy Syndrome, compounded by the very English disease of wanting it both ways.

Jarvis tries to rationalise his petty rudeness as both a harmless prank and a salutary gesture: "My actions were a form of protest at the way Michael Jackson sees himself as some Christ-like figure with the power of healing. The music industry allows him to indulge his fantasies..." That the Jacko camp's response has been so sanctimonious only allows Jarvis to indulge all the more his fantasy as a Wildean gadfly and enemy of pomp.

Both fantasies make money and there are no losers except, perhaps, for our sense of proportion. That Cocker has been accused of molesting children in Jackson's care is an irony too self-evident to comment.

Mark Beard
c/o Rough Trade Management
66 Golborne Road,
London W10 5PS.

THE media's rehabilitation of Michael Jackson has now proceeded so far that even the Guardian makes no mention of child-abuse in its report. Yet here a very rich man who settled with a family rather than fight child-abuse charges in court. He then poses on stage as a figure of redemption, surrounded by adoring young children. I don't know which made me angrier, watching Jackson's performance or seeing the rapturous reception given to him by the record-business audience.

Perhaps the adult public has given Jackson the benefit of the doubt. The children on stage, however, were certainly not old enough to remember or judge recent events. Maybe, when she is older, the little girl whose foot Jarvis allegedly stepped on will realise what a sick charade she was part of, and be glad that someone tried to expose it.

THANK heavens for Jarvis Cocker! Jackson's defilement of himself was the most lunatic display of posturing vanity that the King of Pop has achieved so far. What made it even worse was the connivance in his self-adulation by Saint Bob Geldof, who prepared us for Jackson's orgy of narcissism by introducing "God singing" and "God dancing".

Desmond Mason
Malvern, 49 Stanwell Road,
Penarth CF94 2LR.

SURELY it is time for Mr Cocker to be knighted?
Joe Billington,
36a Dury Road,
London N16 5JS.

Found, at last

IHAVE not replied to Matthew Norman's heavy-handed and childish vendetta against me in your Diary column in recent weeks. However, his latest repetitive clapnet (Diary, February 16) attributes a quotation to me which is sheer invention. Miss Julia Hartley-Brewer of the London Evening Standard has confirmed that I was not in any way discourteous or abusive in my dealings with that paper's Diary column, and I shall therefore be obliged if you will set the record straight.

CONTRARY to R A Foald's assertion (Letters, February 20), it is not misleading to compare the use of testosterone patches in hypogonadal men with the use of HRT in women. Postmenopausal women are, by definition, hypogonadal. The fact that this occurs naturally does not alter the logic of replacement therapy. Such logic applies at least as much to women as it does to men.

IN Scott speak, is it not a fact that the oxymoron "falsely true" does not say in two words what the five volumes of his report has never failed to do?

Brigit Barlow,
Elbrook House,
Ashwell, Baldock,
Herts SG7 5NE.



A skirmish in the cold war

IREFER to your report (Another cold snap coming, February 17) that "weather forecasters" are saying that this winter may soon compare with the coldest of the century, 1946-47. This is quite ludicrous.

Who are these experts? Are they real or are they figments of journalistic imagination? There have been several winters colder than this one since 1947 which provided conditions for lengthy periods of skating, something this winter has certainly failed to achieve: 1973, 1981-82, 1986

and 1987 come readily to mind. In fact, February 1986 was recorded as the second coldest this century. And how the winter of 1982-83 failed to come into the reckoning is beyond comprehension.

This was calculated by some meteorologists to be marginally more severe than 1946-47 and significant enough to be the subject of an illustrated Guardian booklet which cost sixpence.

John Steel,
Elroya, c/o
Parkgate Road,
Newdigate, Surrey RE5 5AH.

Going spare in the community

STEPHEN Dorrell's announcement (Owens to plug gap for mentally ill, February 21) does not amount to a government U-turn on community care, but goes some way towards owning up to the obvious fact that it has seriously under-funded community care for years.

A "spectrum of care" should never have amounted either to a hospital bed or a bed-and-breakfast place with a prescription. Mind has been criticising the Government for years for not providing a full range of support services, which should include some residential care for the small numbers of people needing it, as well as supported housing.

Independent tenancies and crisis services are "danger" in the community, it is that too great a focus will be placed on providing residential-based care for a few people, and that community-based services for the vast majority of people will continue to be over-stretched and inadequate.

The £36 million of "new" funding announced by Dorrell will not significantly improve services. To provide crisis services alone, £300 million is needed.

Judi Clements,
National Director, Mind,
The Mental Health Charity,
15-19 Broadway,
London E15 4BQ.

Another attempt to solve the Ulster problem (to be continued)

DOES the situation in Northern Ireland amount to civil war, and can democracy as we practice it resolve civil war (bound to end in tears, by Robert McCartney, February 20)? If the IRA is not supported by significant numbers of the Northern Ireland population, then it is a gang of fascist thugs whom we can hope to isolate and eliminate.

Agreeing to these democratic principles, however, might well leave Mr McCartney and his fellow compatriots in a small independent statelet in the north-east of Ireland about the size of Devon. He might not care for this outcome but it might well secure peace in these Anglo-Celtic islands of ours.

Paul Shuttle,
Brewery Lane,
Keswick,
Cumbria CA12.

WHO does Robert McCartney think he is kidding with his claim that Northern Ireland is a "civilised democracy" and the only problem is republican violence? He makes no mention of the unionist violence which goes right back to the origins of the Northern Ireland state.

As far as "democracy" is concerned, Northern Ireland isn't one. It has been gerrymandered and undemocratic since its inception: the imposition of an artificial border to ensure one-party, unionist rule there was compounded by internal gerrymandering and coercion. The current proposal for further elections only reinforces a harmful misconception of democracy.

John McMillan,
Bridgewater,
Somerset.

On Guppy and other ex-cons

AS a very ex-criminal (whose last armed bank robbery and subsequent 16-year prison sentence happened over a quarter of a century ago), I have occasionally been approached by the press, television, radio and theatrical world to contribute towards various projects (Extracts of truth, February 19).

I've been paid in cash and in kind for my assistance: a couple of decent working lunches and dinners, travel expenses, a cheque for under £100 and a few others for considerably less.

Upholders of the media's current policy on ethics will be pleased to know I remain clean and on the dole. Would I not be better employed and the public better served were

I to be, to paraphrase Duncan Campbell, "bashing a typewriter rather than a bank manager"?

Robert Alles King,
9 St Michael's Terrace,
London N22 4SJ.

A Country Diary

BURGHAD: The sea along the east coast had not calmed down since the recent storms and the white tops of the waves glistened like frost in the sunlight. One group of a dozen or so elder ducks, that included some juveniles, seemed to be enjoying themselves as they sat on the water and let the waves sweep them several feet high before they came down into the next trough. Were they simply playing? They made no attempt to feed, and they could easily have joined the flock of over 40 sheltered a few hundred yards away in the harbour. Amongst the birds flying past were several red-breasted mergansers and it reminded me that some fishermen in Scotland are still seeking licences to shoot these birds along with goshawks. This is based on the supposition that they cause serious damage to young fish despite the fact that government research has not supported this. I decided to use the telescope to stare at one section of the sea some dis-

tance out in the hope of seeing the first gannets going north. There were no gannets but I did see puffins, gullies, mottos, fulmars, common scoters, long-tailed ducks fly past but then I had to stop looking as I started to feel sea sick. The two great skuas that flew north seemed very purposeful so perhaps they were heading for the northern breeding colonies such as on Foula or could they be going even further north to the 2,000 outwash plains of south-east Iceland where I used to study them. In contrast the small numbers of rock doves feeding on the very low cliff all looked pure despite the fact that I now believe the only true rock doves are in the Outer Hebrides and even these may be doubtful because feral and racing pigeons may have started breeding with them. As I left the group of elder were still riding the waves and not the slightest concerned at the spray engulfing them.

RAY COLLIER

Diary
Matthew Norman

THE supernatural afflicts the world of left-wing journals: two articles — one in Tribune, by Doug Anthony, of environmental group Sera; the other in New Statesman by Labour's Chris Smith — are so similar, it's spooky. More than half the words in each are identical. "Few would dispute that protecting the environment is worthwhile," begins Doug's second paragraph — and so does Chris's. "Switching transport investment from road to rail..." says Doug in para three — and so does Chris. "We can't say that companies will move to areas..." says Doug later on — and so, would you Adam and Eve it, does Chris. Only when the authors are asked about this miracle does their telepathic link vanish. Chris insists he wrote every word himself, muttering something about "very similar briefs". Mm. Perhaps there is such a thing as the Vulcan mind meld after all.

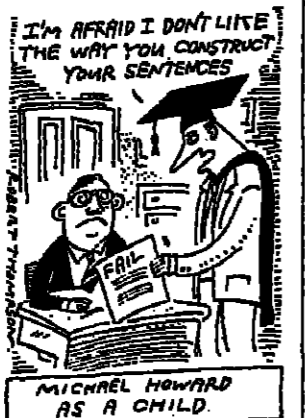
ON Tuesday, Michael Howard joined Princess Anne at Wandsworth to launch a Victim Support scheme to put prisoners' artwork on T-shirts. Cleverly, the Home Office had announced the freezing of Victim Support's annual grant earlier that day, but Michael made a speech praising the charity anyway. Then, however, he rushed off without inspecting the exhibition as planned. But why? Did he feel one of those wretched colds of his coming on? Or was it the large caricature of Michael himself, wearing not only a sign saying "Rule 43" (the one famed for putting sex offenders and bent coppers in solitary, to protect them from fellow inmates), but also a noose.

THE current holder of the Diary title "Britain's drollest public-relations practitioner" is seeking a "Media Relations Manager", Yorkshire Water's advert says that "the successful candidate will acquire some of the best media-relations experience in the UK". He or she will also "need to retain a sense of humour". We wish the winner the best of luck.

NOW, as promised, to the first extract from the new Book of the Month, A Woman's Calling by Edwina Currie. Fred Laidlaw (who bafflingly appears to be a Tory MP at the age of 23) is relaxing with Karen. "She took his hands calmly in her own and placed them on her breasts, then helped him massage them, palm to curve, round and round, rubbing the pert nipples with his thumbs. He gasped, then looked at her in amazement. 'Oh Karen, you're so lovely...' 'Oh, Edwina! Is it any wonder that, on a page before the novel begins, she quotes Flaubert as an influence?"

MY friend Peter Bottomley, the well-meaning MP for Eitham, telephoned. Dear Bumley is, as so often, in a bit of a state, and this time it's journalistic practice. (He's always had a thing about ethics, ever since meeting his wife in Colchester, at the University of Ethics.) Bumley inquires as to whether any "independent sources" confirmed yesterday's item about Virginia Thomas, "that we can no longer accept three hymns during a service." They just won't fit into "the allotted time", he says. Do not, though, think the council inquisitive. It's a family tradition, "they must book an additional half hour time at extra cost."

READING Council's cemeteries manager has contacted local undertakers. "I write to advise you," says Bruce Thomas, "that we can no longer accept three hymns during a service." They just won't fit into "the allotted time", he says. Do not, though, think the council inquisitive. It's a family tradition, "they must book an additional half hour time at extra cost."



When consensus is a radical idea

Commentary Hugo Young

THE first policy declaration specific to the 1997 election is nothing less than a conspiracy of silence. That is the deal Gillian Shephard and David Blunkett have agreed to put in place on the future of higher education. Coming out of an either/or relentless snarling is *de rigueur*, this is a strange counter-cultural development.

It also looks like mutual surrender by leading politicians to a force that haunts them: the shock of extreme unpopularity across the campuses of Britain if either party agrees, as both in the end surely will, to make going to university an experience which its beneficiaries must in some measure pay for. But I think there's more to be said for their conduct than naked cowardice.

Naturally, there's some of that. Putting the future of the universities into the long grass, where Sir Ron Dearing and a great-good committee will kick it around for 18

months, postpones the exploitation of an unpopular decision. The Liberal Democrats, producing their own plan, scoffed at further procrastination. There's a sense of Labour coming closer to its inheritance. Mr Blunkett accepted Mrs Shephard's proposition knowing that Dearing was more likely to report to him than to her, and thus saw advantage in giving himself some say over the terms of reference and membership.

But by conspiring to remove from the election agenda some big questions — first, the size and purpose of university expansion, and second, fees for students — the two politicians could be said to have found a funny way of enriching the national debate that undoubtedly needs to happen.

The problem is, however, that under the rules of adversarial politics there has been no debate anyway. The silence goes back many years. Keith Joseph proposed tuition charges more than a decade ago, but was warned off by a combination of campus riots and Mrs Thatcher's terror of middle-class revenge. In 1993, Jeff Rooker, then the Labour spokesman, wrote a paper canvassing the case for fees, and John Smith sacked him hours before the document was withdrawn from publication. The issue, in short, suffers from the syndrome that afflicts the greater part of political performance in Britain.

It was impossible to start a discussion before someone screamed "graduate tax" and called it a halt. Just as it is impossible to discuss very many subjects other than in combat. The problem of British politics is no longer that politicians violently disagree but that they feel obliged to pretend to, and develop a vocabulary of bombast to prove it.

There are minor disagreements between the Conservative and Labour parties about higher education. A residue of ideology persuades some Tory backbenchers that there are too many students, who, it is true, get more public money than students anywhere else. The Labour Party takes a larger, more romantic view of education than the Tories, being more concerned with the 20-year future of the nation than the short-term demands of the labour market.

Accordingly, Mr Blunkett, in the secret heart which Dearing excuses him from opening up, is as yet less persuaded about the need for tuition fees. Just wait until he has to meet a budget!

Broadly, however, the leaders see that Mr Blunkett is a moderniser and Mrs Shephard is a wet, who even thinks that student payments should be "equitable", a word rarely sighted in modern Tory discourse. The field they share

grows more consensual by the month. Hot though it was, the Harriet Harman affair distracts attention from the truth, which is that the Blunkett-Blair education policy is being drafted in politeness and fervour. Grammar schools are not the problem. A common vision unites people at the top of both parties around the understanding that education is more about improving standards than changing structures.

This is a huge cultural change. Mr Blair isn't wrong to note that, shorn of bombast, 80 per cent of the House of Commons could agree with 80 per cent of the likely education policy a Labour government conducted.

In part, politics is about disagreement. There is a tremendously important argument to be had about Europe. There's probably going to be another

big difference over the shrinking of the welfare state. Constitutional change sees the parties in primal disagreement. On the whole, though, the rituals of party difference contribute less and less to either good government or instructive politics.

They are, as all polls show, detested by the voters, few of whom experience a fraction of the party fervour that drives professional politicians to behave like hair-splitters to the nation, their promises as false as their real differences are small.

The bi-partisan origin of the Dearing Committee takes a

stand against this. Paradoxically, it gives serious debate a chance, and serious policy for British education a better chance of lasting. But we perhaps have some way to go before the radical potential of fervour. Grammar schools are not the problem. A common vision unites people at the top of both parties around the understanding that education is more about improving standards than changing structures.

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The bi-partisan origin of the Dearing Committee takes a

The truth shall still set you free

George Monbiot

WHEN I arrived at the friary in Lago da Pedra in north-eastern Brazil, I was treated, at first, with suspicion. A few days earlier the local branch of the Ranchers' Union had announced that it would kill the bishop, a monk and a nun. That morning the friary had received a phone call warning that the killing was about to begin. The man who eventually let me in thought I was the hired gunman.

In the cloisters, 30 to 40 peasants sat shelling peas and talking in whispers. Several had supporting bruises on their wrists and ankles. They had been dragged from their homes by military police, hired for the purpose by the state officials trying to seize their land. This was in 1989. A few decades earlier, a Catholic friary would have been among the last places the peasants would have fled to. For centuries, the Church in Latin America was incapable of distinguishing between evangelisation and enslavement. There were honourable exceptions — priests who spoke out against atrocities committed in the name of God — but their voices were seldom heard. Today, while many senior churchmen continue to absolve repression, bishops and priests throughout the continent have sided with the poor.

Liberation theology was a practice long before it became a philosophy. Seeing that there was little virtue in trying to help the poor without confronting the exclusion and exploitation making them poor, the pastors began to use the Bible to show people why they were oppressed. Citing Luke 4:18, they helped to establish some of the most robust labour, land and housing movements in the world. Millions, who would have lost their livelihoods, owe their survival to the new theology.

The movement, inevitably, has been attacked by governments and their apologists in the Church. Monks, priests, even archbishops, have been murdered by hired gunmen and police. Proponents have been silenced or excommunicated by the Pope. President Reagan's administration funded a Protestant evangelical movement whose key text is Romans 13:1-2 — "The powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God."

It's not hard to see why some churchgoers in the Scottish Highlands are beginning



George Monbiot

to take an interest in Latin American liberation theology. During the highland clearances, as people were dragged from their homes, the Church conspired in their oppression — just as the Vatican has done in Latin America. The clearances, pastors argued, were God's judgment on the people's wickedness.

Towards the end of the 19th century, however, when some of the remaining highlanders began to agitate for the return of their land, new interpretations of the Gaelic Bible furnished them with arguments. Today, a new theology is accompanying the revival of conflicts over land and resources. Last year, one of Scotland's most respected theologians, the Rev Prof Donald MacLeod, called for highlanders to "reinstaurate our lost culture and bring back under our own stewardship and protection those straths [highland valleys] which violent hands stole from us."

The gospel of liberation has also been spreading south of the border. On Tuesday, the London Churches Group, inspired by Brazilian priests, called for churches to move from sympathy to solidarity with the homeless, treating them less as objects of charity than as subjects of their own enfranchisement. The latest survey of the General Synod, which found members more concerned about the Third World, unemployment and the environment than adultery and homosexuality, suggests that the LCG's report will fall on fertile ground.

CONFRONTATION between the Church and earthly powers is scarcely a new idea — Jesus was crucified for subversion. But in Britain, the need for defiance is more urgent than it has been for years. Zero-hour contracts, the detention of immigrants, deaths in custody, the abuse of gypsies and travellers, the burgeoning housing crisis and restrictions on the right to protest, blur the lines between political neutrality on the part of the Church and collaboration.

If liberation theology takes root in Britain, its advocates can expect trouble, and not just from such inflatable buffoons as the venerable George Austin. But adversity is surely what Christianity is all about. Our text for today is I John 3:18: "Let us not love in word, neither in tongue; but in deed and in truth." God's kingdom will not be built on tea and sympathy. It is time for the Church to take sides.

Pat Buchanan's audacious victory in New Hampshire brought together an alliance of disenchanted voters that could, ironically, save Bill Clinton. **Martin Walker** reports

God's own coalition

PAT BUCHANAN calls it "that moment when I lift my hand from that Bible on which I swear my oath of office". It is the moment next January when US troops in Bosnia board their planes to leave, all foreign aid stops, army engineers begin building the 2,000-mile wall along the Mexican border.

There will be utter chaos in the financial markets, as the US formally withdraws from the North American Free Trade Treaty and from the World Trade Organisation of the Gatt, and "reviews" membership of the World Bank and IMF. Currency traders will scramble to comprehend the scale of the collapse in world trade that will follow. Buchanan's new tariffs of 10 per cent against Japanese and 50 per cent against Chinese goods.

It will also be the moment when the US Seventh Fleet takes up its new station off the coast of the protectorate of Taiwan, and Russia watches as the strategic arms treaties torn up as Buchanan starts to deploy Ronald Reagan's old dream of Star Wars. The UN bureaucracy can start to ship their belongings out of New York, and Panama can forget that treaty about the canal becoming theirs in the year 1999.

Back in the US, to the cheers of David Duke and the Ku Klux Klan, all federal programmes that benefit blacks or other minorities will stop along with any use of federal funds that can in any sense be said to support abortion. As armed bands of the militia movement fire off their black-powder salutes to the nationalist populist in the White House, all restrictions on gun ownership would be scrapped. After his stunning victory in the New Hampshire primary election, in the teeth of all the money and organisation and party machinery available to Senator Bob Dole, a Buchanan presidency is suddenly something more than a faint, theoretical nightmare.



can delegates will be elected. "In the first week of March, we get to the South, and I am home, in South Carolina and Georgia and then Super Tuesday with Florida and Texas," Buchanan grinned on Tuesday night, as the exit polls came in.

"I carry the South and I win the nomination. I then bring home the Ross Perot voters and the Reagan Democrats, and all that Democratic base who know that Bill Clinton sold them and their jobs down the river to Mexico — and the Buchanan brigades will finally storm the last defences of the establishment and plant the Stars and Stripes on the liberated city of Washington, DC."

Buchanan hit four of the states yesterday, flying straight from New Hampshire to North Carolina, then 2,000 miles to North and South Dakota, and on to Colorado. As he left his victory

party on Tuesday night, he was already on the phone to conservative talk shows in Arizona. This has been his secret weapon. Gregg Mueller, his top press aide, has a briefing book on every radio talk show in the US, 740

His fund-raising operation, Dial 1-800-Go-Pat-Go, is now raking in over \$100,000 a day

very much larger share of their most dedicated activists. With the New Hampshire win, Buchanan also scored an important victory in a secret war going on behind the scenes in the Christian Coalition. The executive director, Ralph Reed, has a long-term goal of making the coalition as influential and permanent an institution in the 21st century as the trade-union confederation of the AFL-CIO has been for the Democrats. Against the fervent will of his rank and file who wanted Buchanan, Reed was able to keep the coalition machinery "neutral", which meant in effect pro-Dole. Yesterday, Reed's dam broke, as coalition leaders in Colorado and Texas and Florida came out for Buchanan.

They did so because Buchanan has brought a large new vote into his camp: the Reagan Democrats. These are disaffected blue-collar workers who fear for their jobs in Bill Clinton's new world of fierce competition and local free trade. On the evidence of the New Hampshire exit polls, they are flocking to Buchanan in droves, just as they did to George Wallace in 1972 and to Reagan in 1984.

What was once a left-right vertical split in American politics is now becoming something bizarrely different: a horizontal split between the elites and the educated and those who believe

Reagan Democrats are flocking to Buchanan just as they did to George Wallace in 1972

In the new global economy — and those below who fear it. President Clinton, Wall Street and the corporate establishment, and all the other Republican leaders, are above that line. Pat Buchanan and the Democratic leadership in Congress, and the trade unions and rump leftists like Ralph Nader are below it united in their demand for protection against the global economy.

Republican Party leaders, and their financial backers, are trying desperately to persuade Bob Dole and Lamar Alexander to close ranks, possibly with the deal of a vice-presidential slot to Alexander, in exchange for a Dole pledge to step down after one term. Buchanan's success in the remaining primaries depends on his continuing to split the anti-Buchanan vote. It could backfire. That kind of fix between Washington insiders is precisely what fuels the outrage and resentments behind the Buchanan insurgency.

As the Republicans tear themselves apart in the coming weeks of class and religious wars, it leaves as the real winner of the New Hampshire primary the Democrat who broke Reagan's 1984 record to win 90 per cent of his party's vote this week: Bill Clinton.

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Toru Takemitsu

Sounds and silences

A COMPOSER who can establish a characteristic voice or musical personality with the listener is rare indeed. Toru Takemitsu, who has died aged 66, had echoes of Debussy, Scriabin, Ravel, Berg and Messiaen, for example, in his music but his compositions have a recognisable unifying sound, a unique aura.

Even the very early Requiem For Strings (1957) shares a strong family resemblance with works written 30 years later, such as *Metaphysics*, a concerto for violin and string orchestra dedicated to the memory of the film director *Tarkovsky* and first performed at the Edinburgh Festival in August 1987 by Sir Veleri Menuhin, for whom it was written. Takemitsu very early established a special place, a place we share as he explores its riches with each new work. Born in Tokyo and largely self-taught, he came to prominence in his home country in the early 1950s working with the Experimental Workshop, a group of artists looking at new modes of expression and endeavouring to separate themselves from the past. Similar movements were to be found all around the world and Takemitsu absorbed the major technical streams of contemporary musical thought. Soon he was winning awards in competitions, including the Italia Prize in 1958. His success in the early 1960s, at the important International Rostrum of Composers organised by Unesco, culminated in the award of the Prize for Excellence in 1965.

Takemitsu's musical development was unorthodox. Early artistic influences included other art forms as well as a diverse range of musical influences - from post-war European avant garde, through New York experimentation with his friend John Cage, to the world of jazz and popular music. All of this was filtered through a deep knowledge of and commitment to Japanese music. Indeed, though he worked in an essentially Western contemporary music language, the sensibility, philosophy and language of his own culture was never far away. His music is rooted in the sounds of Japan - not just the traditional music of Japan but in the whole range of timbres unique to that land: of ancient rituals; of the modern post-industrial society; of nature. He saw as important and useful to his music things from an extreme range of sources. It is through this surprising

synthesis of East and West, new and old, clear and obscure, complex and simple, local and global, that Takemitsu developed his palette. Takemitsu was in many ways a typical mid-20th century internationalist artist, free to roam the globe, to absorb and make art of anything. His world included Australian aboriginal myth, images from Soviet cinema, the personality of the Spanish painter Miró, the magic of Joyce's *Finnegans Wake*, the strange recollection of the photograph of Marcel Duchamp - as well as his passion for numbers, dreams and water. From the 1960s, he was both a globe-trotting award-winning composer and an intense, singular, elusive and very individual artist.

My involvement with his music began with the 1965 prize-winning *Textures*, which is part of a larger work, *Area*, and a fine example of the complete Takemitsu palette. The full range of post-serial technique is used: multi-layered orchestration, complex pitch structures, liberal distribution of aleatoric material, where the alignment of the layers is liberated into swirling, cascading or fragmenting textures. But I suspect that for me, as for many, the most arresting aspect of this music is the wonderfully original mixture of timbres and harmonic textures that intrigue and beguile, and the seductive, singing undercurrent of melody that hangs in the mind.

HE REVEALED to me later that what we hear is the result of his concept of orchestral space, the careful positioning of each component in the pitch spectrum. High melodic arches reaching up within their own pitch "space"; mid-range blurrings with muted strings or brass; low crescendos of woodwind and low strings, sometimes growing, sometimes sneaking in - suddenly there! And all this miraculously succeeded in a continuum of time with pulse and rhythm somehow submerged into the fabric of the music. After *Textures*, Takemitsu's art was in full flower. Major commissions challenged him to discover new multidimensional sound technologies by composers such as Iannis Xenakis and John Cage. He began the *Seibu Music Today* series in 1973, which continued into the 1990s involving a veritable Who's Who of international music. Takemitsu festivals appeared like mushrooms in



Ancient and modern... Takemitsu achieved a synthesis of varied sources

Tokyo, New York and elsewhere. In 1978 he became an artistic adviser for the Festival d'Automne in Paris.

He wrote music for more than 90 movies, collaborating with several great Japanese directors, including Kurosawa on *Ran* (the Japanese King Lear) and *Dodes'ka-den*. He was working on the latter during my studies with him in 1970. The score successfully integrates strange percussive effects, orchestral sounds and a much more melodic side of Takemitsu's musical character.

As he approached 40, Takemitsu became an ambassador for new music. He was invited, organised and created major festivals all over the world. His contribution to Expo '70 in Osaka was Space Theatre, a venue that brought together 1,000-year-old Japanese music and state-of-the-art laser-based images and multidimensional sound technologies by composers such as Iannis Xenakis and John Cage. He began the *Seibu Music Today* series in 1973, which continued into the 1990s involving a veritable Who's Who of international music. Takemitsu festivals appeared like mushrooms in

Barry Cunningham

Roger Woodward, the pianist to whom Takemitsu dedicated two works, writes: Performing Takemitsu's music from the 1960s on, I have noticed that the longer silences unsettle listeners more than the "usual" modernism of his musical language. The gaps are not filled in with composed music as concert hall listeners expect - the parking-meter approach, as Stravinsky once called it. Takemitsu's passionate or tender outbursts, marked pianissimo but requiring a sudden frenzy of activity, almost suggest that the performer has suffered a mild seizure. Toru, who is survived by his wife Asaka and daughter Maki, was fond of telling a story about his great friend, the American composer Morton Feldman, always ending with a sad smile. When Feldman was dying, he telephoned Takemitsu and with characteristic simplicity whispered a short message: "I love you, Toru." And then hung up. Many of us who knew Toru will be saying those same words this week.

fragile lost bird, replied: "I think silence muddier of music... (long pause) No... maybe glandmudder... all right!"

Toru taught me the infinite variety between silences, the different kinds of fermata, the breathtaking minutiae of all those little and longer pauses which bring such effortless poetry to his musical lines. He taught me to combine (in "five" performances) two entirely different 1962 pieces, *Corona* and *Crossing*, simultaneously. His *dozen* piano works remain an intimate pianist's diary. We were once crossing a field outside Canberra at dusk when suddenly thousands of moths descended, swarming to great Toru. I remember most of the party were desperate to shake off the filthy moths from their good clothes. But Toru was only interested in their movement and the patterns they were making. Toru Takemitsu, composer, born October 8, 1930; died February 20, 1996

Clair Patterson

Limitation exercises

AMONG the most influential and initially controversial post-war geographers Dr Clair Patterson, who has died aged 65 at his home in California, developed elegant techniques to determine the age of the solar system and of the Earth and, subsequently, pioneered research into urban and global contamination by the poisonous metal lead. From the 1960s onwards Patterson catalysed worldwide concern about its effects, especially on children.

By 1970 Patterson's research showed that urban lead levels were about 1,000 times those of the pre-industrial era and that the major contaminating source derived from lead alkyl anti-knock agents in petrol. After three decades he eventually fought off immense pressures and malicious attacks from commercial and industrial hygiene lobbies seeking to undermine the integrity of his work. Unlike Rachel Carson, who entered public debate in her pesticides battle, Patterson was convinced that only science should speak. His science triumphed, notably forcing governments to ban or reduce the use of lead additives in petrol.

Concern sprang initially from a report he produced in response to the US Surgeon General's 1962 statement that urban lead levels in America were not greatly above historical "background" levels. Patterson knew this to be untrue. His early research, deriving the age of the solar system from primordial meteoritic material, was based on the decay of uranium and thorium isotopes to stable lead, a "clock" analogous to radiocarbon dating but involving isotopes possessing extremely long half-lives. His finding that the solar system is 4.6 billion years old, not three billion years old, as believed in the 1950s, was widely controversial yet soon accepted. Among his first discoveries when dating the solar system was that his lead measurements were being swamped by laboratory contamination. He devised super-clean techniques but the scale of contamination triggered his lifelong investigation which soon revealed that, from cities to oceans and polar snows, all living things were being subjected to toxic lead insult.

Patterson spoke of "mega exposures" and, using typically meticulous techniques, showed that lead concentrations in humans had risen to between 500 and 1,000 times those of the pre-industrial era. Since lead is a central nervous system poison the implications, in terms of damage to brain development and function, were obvious and profound. When, in 1968, these findings were challenged at a London meeting by establishment toxicologists whose data were by then in tatters, Patterson's reply was salutary. His description of the enormous care that had to be taken to control the effects of contamination showed that the laboratory practices of his critics were often sloppy. At this time his techniques were so demanding, costly and time-consuming that they were beyond the reach of all but three laboratories in the world. Patterson demolished and infuriated his critics.

A decade earlier he had developed methods of "finger-printing" lead contamination sources as well as levels of global contamination. When his findings trod on industrial toes or trespassed on scientific fields that were not his own, he stood above the hostility he provoked and, unfailingly, turned out to be right. To its great credit - and possibly cost - the California Institute of Technology, where he spent his research life, resisted powerful commercial pressures to have him dismissed. Patterson's work stimulated worldwide research, initially in America and Scandinavia, into the effects of lead and other toxic metals such as mercury and cadmium. This eventually led to major changes in industrial and government policy and to international agreements, such as our own North Sea anti-dumping convention. He was a prophet of our time.

Proud of his Mid-West upbringing, he went to school in Des Moines and gained his master's degree at Iowa University in 1944. He took his



Patterson... fuel for thought

doctors in 1951 at Chicago, where he met Harrison Brown and where Willard Libby was developing radiocarbon dating. His first full-time research technician was a graduate chemist called Laurie, temperamental as she was intense, and she became his wife. Clair Patterson's retirement in 1992 was marked by a Caltech symposium in his honour. When he died he was working on a book on brain physiology and function which his family (there are four children) hopes to publish. We should all honour his legacies; his concern for our well-being; his powerful and immaculate science and, above all, his integrity.

Anthony Tucker

Clair Patterson, scientist, born June 2, 1922; died December 5, 1995

Harry Urwin

Ifs and buts of a No 2

HARRY URWIN, who has died aged 80, was number two to Jack Jones at the height of the power of the Transport and General Workers' Union and one of the few remaining figures from that truly archetypal generation of trade union leaders who rose from an elementary school education via the relentless toughness of pre-war shop-floor life. There were no frills, or O-levels or A-levels - hope was the fuel which overcame despair; the socialist message was still bright. That exceptionally hard school produced outstanding TGWU leaders - Ernest Bevin, Frank Cousins



Urwin... tough and unbending

and Jack Jones - and has now been closed down. Urwin came from a Durham miners' family - a community renowned for producing Labour and trade union leaders as well as outstanding footballers. He "escaped" - his phrase to me many years later - from the pits after a brief taste of coal dust to the Coventry of the early thirties and daylight jobs in the machine tool trade, serving the still infant car industry. Gradually he moved up the trade union ladder to become a wartime chief steward and convener. It was then that he met Jack Jones, a young Liverpool not long back from the Spanish Civil

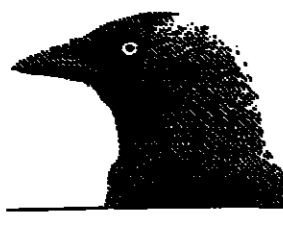
War. The friendship was to last for more than 50 years - although following Jones's retirement as TGWU general secretary there was, for a time, a break within it. Their careers ran in parallel, sharing work experiences, socialist politics and trade unionism. When Jones, two years older, moved on from Coventry district TGWU secretaryship to the Midlands region head office, Urwin stepped into Jones's Coventry job. When Jones moved to London, Urwin replaced him. And when, in 1968, Jones took over the TGWU, Urwin became deputy general secretary of Britain's largest, two million-strong union.

It was the heyday of trade union influence and the "Jack and Harry duo" was a formidable combination for any government to reckon with. Jones was a tough, incisive decision-maker, politically loquacious, a sharp debater; Urwin, arguably even tougher, was less argumentative but unbending in his beliefs and attitudes about what was right and wrong. If Jones made the tough decisions, it was his deputy who carried them out. Urwin remained as number two until his 1980 retirement. After Moss Evans succeeded Jones as the general secretary's chair, the great mystery is why Jones discouraged Urwin from letting his name go forward for the succession. The accepted wisdom at the time was that Urwin, at retirement age and Jones felt that this would not have benefited the union. Harry Urwin believed otherwise - and it remained a sad break to their friendship. Another factor was that Urwin had always refused to sacrifice his settled domestic scene in Walsall for London. The speculation that can never be resolved is what might have happened if Urwin, rather than Evans, had taken over from Jones. There are those, including former Chancellor Denis Healey, who believe it might well have prevented the Winter of Discontent which eventually brought down the Callaghan government and has left the Labour Party in opposition to this day. Harry Urwin served on the TUC general council from 1969 to 1980 and chaired several of its top committees. He was a member of the Manpower Services Commission, the National Enterprise Board, the Acas Council, the Energy Commission and the Standing Committee on Pay Comparability. But perhaps the wistful smile which played across his face in the later years, after retirement, was a reflection of his innermost thoughts as to what might have happened, if...

Geoffrey Goodman

Charles Henry "Harry" Urwin: born February 24, 1915; died February 9, 1996

Jackdaw



All gone

ONE MORNING at eight o'clock, my phone rang. It was a former student of mine who is now a research endocrinologist at a major teaching hospital in Houston. She had an odd question: at what point in animal evolution was the porphyrin molecule (such as haemoglobin) first adopted for use specifically as an oxygen carrier? It was an essential piece of information for medical research that she was planning. If I didn't know the answer (and I didn't), who did? I racked my brains to think of a contemporary biochemist or university department that could pro-

vide the answer. Nothing. All I could come up with was a book - I thought by somebody named Baldwin - that I had read when I was a student. She thanked me politely and said goodbye. Later I went down to the basement and found the book in a box. It was *An Introduction to Comparative Biochemistry*, by Ernest Baldwin, Cambridge University Press, 1964, fourth edition. Much of the information my former student had wanted was in there, brilliantly written. I called the publisher and was told that the book had gone out of print in 1980. By coincidence, I was scheduled to lecture that afternoon to a group of biochemistry professors and graduate students. So I asked them the question I had been asked earlier. "I'm not a biochemist," I said, after relating the phone call. "Tell me who is working on this sort of thing these days." The biochemistry professors looked at one another and laughed. Nobody does comparative biochemistry anymore, they answered; at least they didn't know of anybody. There had probably been nothing published on the subject since Baldwin. As for the graduate students, they had never even heard of comparative biochemistry. Gone! Not outdated. Not superseded. Not scientifically or politically controversial. Not even merely frivolous. A whole continent of important human knowledge simply gone. Like Atlantis beneath the waves. David Ehrenfeld, a biology professor at Rutgers University, reflects on disappearing knowledge in *Forgetting*, originally published in the *North Carolina magazine The Sun*, and reprinted in *Harper's*.

Snow talk
Tiaga - powder snow.
Tapat - still snow.
Klin - remembered snow.
Naklin - forgotten snow.
Tiamo - snow that falls in large wet flakes.
Blotia - blowing snow.
Pactia - snow that has been packed down.
Hirya - snow in beads.
Wa-ter - melted snow.
Tlaying - snow mixed with mud.
Allatia - baked snow.
Grilia - fried snow.
MacFlia - snow burgers.
Dinilitia - little bells of snow that cling to Husky fur.
Ertia - snow used by Eskimo teenagers for exquisite erotic rituals.
Wariatia - snow used to make Eskimo daiquiris.
Meestia - snow used to make Eskimo Margaritas.
Penstia - the idea of snow.
Ylajpi - tomorrow's snow.
Fritia - our children's snow.
Tialman - snow sold to German tourists.
Huanitia - special snow rolled into "snow reefers" and smoked by wild Eskimo youth.
Tria-ne-ne - snow mixed with the sound of old rock and roll from a portable radio.
Deppitia - a small snowball, preserved in Lucite, that had been handled by Johnny Depp.
Brikitia - good building snow.
Striktia - snow that's no good for building.
Taria - snow that can be sculpted into the delicate cor-

sages Eskimo girls pin to their whole parkas at prom time. *The Eskimos' Elusive Words for Snow* by Phil James, a contribution to the Internet's "How many words do Eskimos have for snow" debate (<http://www.pactler.com>). Purists maintain that Eskimos in fact have 12 words for snow. Others argue that this is untrue and that Eskimos have only one word meaning snow.

White on
I'M DELIA, and I live at the Delano in Miami. There's no other hotel like it. Kelly Klein's new picture book about underwear is in the gift shop. I've read it. After all, I'm almost eight and my parents say I have the soul of a publicist. My parents know the owner, Jan... My parents also know the architect, Philippe. He's French. He put weird chairs and white curtains in the lobby, and made all the rooms white white white and says that simple chic is the new thing. I don't understand what that means. All I know is that instead of a

piece of chocolate on your pillow, you get an apple on the wall, which is annoying... Salman Rushdie came for a secret book party last month and Madonna had her birthday here. For Thanksgiving, everybody came. Kelly, Calvin, Kate, Barry, David. I saved all the clippings - it's so fun to see them collecting their shells... Naturally, I'm always busy. First I have to order breakfast from the



Boys' talk... Sky

Birthdays

Judy Cornwell, actress, 54; Joseph Ettedgui, fashion designer, 60; Bruce Forsyth, entertainer, 68; Jocelyna Hebert, theatre designer, 75; Senator Edward Kennedy, 84; Duchess of Kent, 63; Sir John Kerr, ambassador to Washington, 54; Niki Lauda, former motor racing champion, 47; Frances Line, controller, Radio 2, 58; Sir John Mills, actor, 88; Mimi-Mimi (Sylvette Hery), actress, 47; Buddy Tate, saxophonist, 88; Julie Walters, actress, 46; Robert Young, actor, 89.

Death Notices

BRUCE, On February 19th 1996, suddenly across road 78, Funeral to be held at Golder's Chapel, 20, Park Lane, London W1K 3JY. Family flowers only. Friends invited to call at 20 Park Lane, 20 Park Lane, W1K 3JY.

In Memoriam

YOUTH Beauty 22.2.96 still greatly missed

Birthdays

EDWARD CHAMBERLAIN is 77 today. Love from 8770. Please visit our announcement telephone 0171 611 3000

Roll with it

BIRDS ARE all right. They're all pink on the inside. Any bird who's fit is all right, unless she's nicked or ugly and she speaks backwards to you. If she thinks I'm boss, then thumbs up. Chicks in Japan don't even ask your name, just "Can I sleep with you tonight?" Certainly, my dear. Like American birds, they open their mouths. Then they annoy me. But if they're fit, they're fit... I think Elastic is better than Blur. His bird (Justine Frischmann)

Jackdaw wants your jewels.

Jackdaw@guardian.co.uk; fax 0171-718 6266; Jackdaw, The Courtyard, 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER.

Dan Glaister

shotgun
Excha
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Financial Editor: Alex Brummer
Telephone: 0171-239-9610
Fax: 0171-833-4456

Finance Guardian

Exchange reform plans 'recipe for chaos'

Patrick Donovan
City Editor

SIR Nicholas Redmayne, chief executive of brokers Kleinwort Benson, yesterday underlined the loss of confidence in the Stock Exchange by the City's most senior practitioners, condemning as a "recipe for chaos" plans to speed through reforms by August. Sir Nicholas, who became

the first senior broker to go public in the "whispering campaign" against top Stock Exchange management, was giving evidence to a Treasury and Civil Service select committee hearing into the way the share market is being run. The inquiry was set up after the acrimonious sacking of chief executive Michael Lawrence and comes as the exchange is planning to revamp the way the market works to

head off competition from rival bourses. Sir Nicholas told MPs he thought the exchange still had a role, but needed to earn back the respect of its City membership. He was speaking after submitting a written statement to the MPs. The statement said: "The Stock Exchange has seemed unable to grasp the need to define clearly its role and its relationship with members. For this reason we be-

lieve the corporate governance of the exchange should now be reviewed. The atmosphere of confrontation, so keenly felt by member firms in recent years, must now end." Sir Nicholas told MPs he felt Mr Lawrence lost the confidence of the exchange because of a "lack of tact". He expressed misgivings about the exchange's plans to switch from quote-driven to order-driven share trading — as com-

monly used by the its big rivals. He insisted Kleinwort was not totally against market reforms but said proper time was needed for consultation. If the City's trading systems were changed to an order-driven mechanism, there should be a special provision for "block trading" which would allow the largest share parcels to be traded on the telephone. Salomon Brothers, the US

financial giant, made it clear that Kleinwort was by no means speaking for all City players. Managing director Gordon Lawson said there were many advantages to order-driven dealing, which will "foster market integrity and thus promote enhanced investor protection". Unless the changes were made, business "could migrate either to other exchanges or take place off-exchange", he said.

Notebook

Guru behind Pat Buchanan



Edited by Alex Brummer

IT IS axiomatic that successful US presidential candidates have their personal economic guru. Candidate Ronald Reagan was a follower of Professor Arthur Laffer, who famously drew him a chart on a table napkin demonstrating how a cut in tax rates would result in increased revenues as a result of greater enterprise and growth. Bill Clinton was a close follower of Professor Robert Reich, whose 1991 book *Work of Nations* argued that in an increasingly globalised economy it was the skill base and capacities of the population which would determine standards of living.

Enter Pat Buchanan, the victor in the New Hampshire primary, who has been broadly labelled an economic nationalist who would pull back from NAFTA and GATT and take on the might of corporate America, in the manner of the 19th-century populists who feared the economic power of the eastern establishment.

This might seem like extremism, but when a single company such as AT&T — following the BT example — can shed 40,000 jobs at a stroke while its chief enjoys a \$5 million (£3.2 million) rise in the value of his share options, such populism has a plain appeal. Indeed, the labour industrial team in the United Kingdom has enjoyed almost a free ride on the greed and unpopularity of the privatised utilities.

Although Buchanan's skills have largely been regarded as rhetorical, he is not without an intellectual underpinning. His economic guru is Wilhelm Röpke, a relatively obscure German economist who died in 1966. Röpke served on Germany's Unemployment Commission until 1933, when he was fired by Hitler and sensibly went into exile.

He returned to Germany after the war to become a senior economic adviser to Ludwig Erhard, who is widely regarded as the architect of the nation's "economic miracle". Röpke's writings include his classic work *A Humane Economy*, with its focus on a third way between free-wheeling capitalism and centralised economies. In his view, economics was not simply a series of equations but a philosophy which takes note of the human soul, an idea now enshrined in Buchanan's "conservatism of the heart".

business. Administrators at one of Denmark's oldest shipyards, for example, are on their third rescue plan. In Britain, Clydeside, Tyneside and Merseyside bear their own mute witness to the industry's decline.

But Europe's industrial problems are scarcely confined to its shipyards. Last month the aircraft manufacturer Foster had to throw itself on the mercy of the courts to stave off bankruptcy. France is trying to ram together two key players in its defence industry — Dassault and Aerospatiale — and sell off another, Thomson, as defence spending is slashed.

The car industry is hardly without troubles. Demand is stagnant, unsold cars pile up. Among the big players, Renault has already announced it is looking to cut more than 1,500 jobs in an effort to boost productivity. Niche market players are in no better shape. Volvo, which got to the brink of a merger with Renault, saw operating profits slashed at its car division last year and is also taking an axe to the payroll.

Cars, ships, small commercial jets, even military hardware are hardly the industries of the future. All are important, however, not least for the size and concentration of their workforces. All need to restructure and will have to do so across national lines. So far, restructuring owes too much to force of circumstance and too little to cross-border strategic thinking.

Politicians and industrialists pursuing over monetary union might care to consider that there may be areas of European integration in more urgent need of attention.

Gehe gobsmacked

ELSEWHERE, at least one German company, the pharmacy group Gehe, was given a quick lesson in the ways of Anglo-Saxon capitalism. By raising its bid to Lloyds Chemist to 500p cash, a share of 2650 million in all, Gehe naturally believed it had delivered a knock-out punch leaving its British rival, Unichem, in the sand.

But Unichem's advisers appeared to have other ideas. As one of its brokers, BZW, raided the market and picked up 10 per cent of Lloyds Chemist shares, the main market-maker in Unichem stock appeared to raise the quoted price of Unichem shares, putting the alternative cash and paper offer well within reach of Gehe.

This manoeuvre produced cries of "foul" from the Gehe camp, which believes that the strict rules dividing corporate finance activity from market-making might have been breached. An informal protest has gone to the Takeover Panel.

It is not the first time in a hostile takeover that such activity has gone on. BSC, for instance, was deemed to have overstepped the mark when it appeared to warehouse a huge stake, under cover of making a market, in the shares of Northern Electric on behalf of Trafalgar House. Limp-wristed action then encourages abuse now.

Trouble at mills

GERMANY'S biggest shipyard group has now moved to seek protection from its creditors. No buy back perhaps, except for the group's 23,000 workers, and its suppliers and creditors. Shipbuilding is a tough

Levi chiefs plan to button up jeans maker's shares

Mark Tran in New York

LEVI Strauss is planning to go completely private in a deal that values the world's largest jeans maker at nearly \$14 billion (£9 billion). Chairman Robert Haas and his closest associates are planning to buy back the shares belonging to nearly 200 Haas family members for \$2.5 billion.

The deal, however, has been complicated by the death last week of Mr Haas's aunt Rhoda Haas Goldman, whose family controls 12.4 per cent of the company.

Mr Haas, a former Peace Corps volunteer and a White House adviser under the Nixon administration, justified the move by saying it would allow him to manage over the longer term. Since taking over 12 years ago, Mr Haas has presided over a dramatic turnaround of the company. Sales have nearly tripled to almost \$7 billion and profits surged to over \$700 million last year. Mr Haas ruthlessly axed operations unrelated to the jeans business, and cut 12,000 jobs between 1983 and 1994.

Levi Strauss started out as a dry good wholesaler on San Francisco's Market Street in 1850. It also stocked jeans — guaranteed not to tear or rip — for miners, mechanics, farmers and cowhands. "For Men Who Toil," read the 1900 slogan.

The original Levi Strauss, a Bavarian immigrant, introduced the double row of stitching on the backpocket, the oldest apparel trademark still in use today. And he patented non-scratch copper rivets on the pocket corners. In 1886 a patch showing two horses trying to pull apart a pair of jeans was added to Levi, thus the jeans became known as the two-horse brand.

Gloves off in Lloyds fight

Paul Murphy

A FIERCE row broke out yesterday in the £650 million fight to control the German group Lloyds Chemist, culminating in allegations of stock market manipulation involving one of the two suitors, Unichem. The City's Takeover Panel was last night asked to intervene but advisers to Unichem dismissed the charges as "scurrilous stuff".

Hostilities erupted in the morning after Gehe, the ambitious German group, increased its cash offer for Lloyds by 50p to 500p, sending shares in Lloyds racing up to 496p at one stage.

Soon there was a surge in Unichem's share price, bringing the value of Unichem's existing cash and shares offer for Lloyds to a whisker of Gehe's new bid terms. BZW, one of Unichem's stockbrokers, used this opportunity to raid the stock market, paying 497 1/4p to acquire a near-10 per cent stake in Lloyds.

However, dealers were quick to note that the jump in Unichem shares — from 242p to 253p at one stage — had only come about because market makers at UBS, Unichem's main stockbroker, pushed the price higher. At the point at which BZW launched its market raid, UBS was the only market maker quoting a mid-market price of 253p. In a firm such as UBS, "chinese walls" are supposed to divide market makers from the corporate finance and broking departments which would be handling the Unichem bid.

Market participants pointed out that without the rise in Unichem's price, which pushed the "set-through" value of its existing offer (calculated on a formula of 1.6 Unichem shares plus 92.6p) to 497.4p per Lloyds share, BZW would have been unlikely to find enough sell-

ers to buy 9.9 per cent of the bid target.

In defence, sources among Unichem's advisers pointed out that market-makers at UBS have historically transacted heavy business in Unichem and that their market makers always operate independently from any corporate broking objectives. When questioned by the Takeover Panel yesterday, UBS is understood to have "put its case robustly".

"This sounds like the stuff of the early 1980s. Things are much more tightly regulated nowadays," one adviser said. Another indicated that the UBS market-maker would only have pushed Unichem's price higher in response to genuine demand from clients.

As Gehe increased its cash offer to Lloyds to 500p, Dieter Kammerer, chairman of the German group, slammed the rival bidder, questioning the risks Unichem faces in taking over a company "significantly larger than itself." He said: "Gehe has recently successfully integrated two substantial businesses. Unichem's acquisitions have been much more modest."

Sources indicated that Gehe had decided against using its own brokers, Cazenove, to raid the market in Lloyds itself due to the "regulatory risk." Observers believe there remains a good chance that whoever wins control of Lloyds will see the proposed acquisition referred to the Monopolies Commission.

Unichem issued a statement insisting that its offer for Lloyds remained the most attractive since it "allows Unichem's chief executive, Jeffrey Harris, said: "We remain confident that the acquisition will be earnings enhancing for Unichem in the first full year and that with strong operating cash flow the enlarged group gearing will be reduced rapidly."

Unions say branch closures break Halifax jobs promise

Sarah Ryle

UNIONS and MPs yesterday attacked the Halifax building society for breaking a promise that merger with the Leeds would not result in job losses and warned that "merger mania" in the sector would cost 10,000 jobs by the end of the decade.

The attack followed the announcement by the Halifax that it is to shut 120 branches to remove overlaps and is reviewing the organisation of its head office.

Despite assurances from the Halifax that it was sticking to its pledge of no compulsory redundancies and would not abandon any communities, the Banking Insurance and Finance Union reacted angrily to the rationalisation plans.

Noel Howell, the union's spokesman, said: "It is sad,

but the job losses at the Halifax are what we predicted. We believe hundreds of jobs could go. There will be job losses whether they are compulsory or not. In the past six years 120,000 finance jobs have gone. Many societies are vulnerable to takeover by banks and we want them to be housed when they go to the job members about the threat to jobs and local branches."

BIFU said 2,000 jobs were being lost due to the Abbey National and National & Provident merger. An additional 10,000 in the sector would face redundancy as a result of the TSB and Lloyds Bank merger.

Halifax chief executive Mike Blackburn said: "Our customers and staff can see that we still have duplicate branches in many towns and cities. They expect us to address this over time, and we are doing so."

THREAT TO JOBS IN GERMAN BLACKSPOTS . . .



Near the rocks . . . Bremen shipyard workers leave their plant to demonstrate for jobs

PHOTOGRAPH BY PETER MUELLER

Bremer Vulkan in crisis move

Mark Milner
European Business Editor

THREE jobs of 23,000 workers in some of Germany's unemployment blackspots are in the balance after the country's biggest shipyard group said it was applying for court protection from its creditors.

The move, which came after all-night crisis talks at Bremer Vulkan failed to produce an immediate rescue package, will give the shipyard group a breathing space in which to try to reach a deal with its creditors. The talks involved management, bankers and politicians.

Yesterday Bremer Vulkan

admitted that a number of its operating units were insolvent and that losses for 1995 were around DM1 billion (£450 million).

Banking sources estimate that the company owes its banks some DM1.4 billion. The shipyard group is the main employer in Bremen, where unemployment is well above the German average, and it also employs thousands of workers in eastern Germany.

Yesterday more than 2,000 Bremen workers braved freezing temperatures to protest against the prospect of job losses.

Bremen city officials regard the company and its employees as a lifeline for the region

and are trying to "save as many jobs as possible", according to Bremen's mayor, Henning Scherf. While Mr Scherf said yesterday that he thought a rescue "cannot be realised without a new partner", he called on the banks, the Bonn government and the European Commission to provide financial aid to the company.

According to German banking sources, the courts will appoint a supervisor who will try to work out a deal between the company and its creditors allowing the company to stay in business.

Under German law, creditors can agree to have their loans written down to as little as 35 per cent of face value

over an agreed period. The group has an order backlog of some DM10 billion, but fierce competition and the strength of the German mark have forced it to cut prices to the bone.

Yesterday the management board said in a statement that it "hopes to find a lasting and workable solution for the affected companies and their employees".

In addition to its heavy debts and operating losses, Bremer Vulkan is being forced by the European Commission to redeploy some DM600 million.

This sum was originally earmarked for investment in its eastern German yards but used for other purposes.

. . . AND IN LONG-SUFFERING SCOTTISH TOWN

Shotts closes ranks to resist closure

Martyn Halsall
Northern Industrial Correspondent

A SMALL Scottish town launched a rescue campaign yesterday for its largest employer after Cummins, the American diesel engine manufacturer, announced the closure of its plant at Shotts, Strathclyde, with the loss of 700 jobs.

The closure, part of an international reorganisation which will mean 2,000 redundancies, threatens to

devastate a town of 9,000, already crippled by coal and steel industry contractions. Labour and trade unions have vowed to reverse the decision after disclosures of an insufficient government rescue package.

Dr John Reid, MP for Motherwell North, said the 40-year-old plant had been an "anchor" during turbulent economic change. "It has maintained a highly skilled workforce at the forefront of engineering for many years and success-fully broken into the most

difficult export markets." Bill Speirs, Scottish TUC deputy general secretary, said the skills and technology at the plant "represent one of the most important surviving elements of the devastation that has hit our manufacturing industry since 1980." The plant appeared profitable, 60 per cent of output was exported and productivity had recently improved by 25 per cent, he said.

Local people reacted with shock to closure plans for a plant which employed 1,400 at its peak in the mid-1970s.

Unemployment nudges 15 per cent in an area where coal was the main employer until the 1950s. A former miner, John Shearer, 59, said: "There's nothing left. It's a dead village now . . . the only other employers are a bakery and an ice cream factory and they will be lucky if they have 150 jobs between them."

Cummins Engine Co, which employs some 5,000 of its 27,000 international workforce in the UK, said British engine production was being "consolidated" at Darlington, Durham.

TOURIST RATES — BANK BILLS			
Australia 1.98	France 7.46	Italy 2.995	Singapore 2.12
Austria 15.10	Germany 2.1750	Malta 0.5425	South Africa 5.8
Belgium 44.50	Greece 367.00	Netherlands 2.4400	Spain 182.75
Canada 2.0732	Hong Kong 11.75	New Zealand 2.25	Sweden 10.45
Cyprus 0.7025	India 56.43	Norway 9.55	Switzerland 1.75
Denmark 8.42	Ireland 0.9550	Turkey 227.25	Turkey 95.858
Finland 8.87	Israel 4.76	Saudi Arabia 5.76	USA 1.5100

Supplied by NatWest Bank (including Indian rupee and Israeli sheqel).



Fired up... Commercial Union chief John Carter is prepared to forgo market share rather than accept unprofitable business PHOTOGRAPH BY HAMILTON WEST

Buoyant insurers enjoy new lease of life

OUTLOOK/ Commercial Union profit rise fits trend but it's a cyclical business, says Roger Cowe

COMMERCIAL Union yesterday maintained the optimism of the insurance reporting season, copying the 14 per cent increase in operating profit reported by Guardian Royal Exchange when it kicked off on Tuesday.

That 14 per cent was inflated to an increase of almost a third when gains in the group's investments were added in, emphasising the significance of capital markets to insurance companies, and how well the latter do when markets are booming as now.

The difference in the growth figures also emphasises how difficult it is to measure the performance of insurance companies, a fact which is a common theme on a more realistic accounting basis its profit from sales of life insurance products was really £513 million, not the £244 million reported.

Whichever way you measure it, insurance companies are coming it and Royal will confirm that today.

But it is in the nature of the insurance business that, just when things are looking rosy, they are actually losing their bloom. Partly this is the usual financial sector scenario of optimism when policies or loans are sold, only to be followed by gloom when the claims or bad debts come in. Insurance is also intensely cyclical, more so than most industries because capacity is not subject to the physical

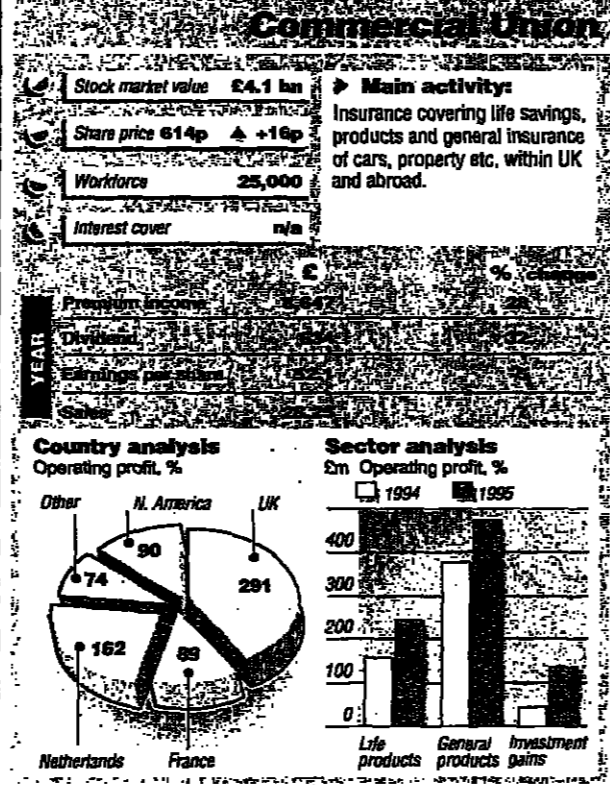
constraints which limit expansion in manufacturing and retailing. Thus, when the good times roll, insurers pile into the market. That drives down premium rates so that profits fall until enough people get out of the market to restore rates again.

Insurers ritually insist, as did CU's chief executive John Carter yesterday with reference to motor insurance, that they will not indulge in price-cutting just to maintain market position. "We are prepared to forgo market share rather than accept unprofitable business," Mr Carter said. But this masks more substantial issues.

The big insurers like CU, GRE and Royal have traditionally made many of their sales through agents or insurance brokers, while building societies have accounted for a large proportion of buildings insurance — sold at ridiculously high prices to captive mortgage customers.

Inertia sustained this distribution system for many years after its natural life had expired, but now companies such as Direct Line have intervened to change it.

The fact is that insurance — both real and the savings variety — is a commodity product. Try as they might to create clear identities, to invent unique products, to offer special service, or to claim better investment performance, there is little to choose between the products



and services of insurance companies, except the price. And since mass market direct selling is a low-cost operation it can offer lower prices than traditional distribution routes, which are therefore doomed to shrink.

One alternative might be to concentrate on "wholesale" distribution through banks and building societies, except that those organisations are looking to insurance to save them from the nightmare of their traditional leading business, and are therefore more interested in setting up, or buying up, their own insurance companies.

All insurers are affected by this sea change, but stockbrokers NatWest believe that CU are best-positioned, together with General Accident, because of the mix of distribution channels and their position in each channel. Sun Alliance came out worst in NatWest's study.

But all this is a little parochial in the context of insurance as a global industry. In the past few years CU has made substantial strides to lessen its dependence on the UK, notably with the purchase of French group, Victoire for £12 billion (£1.5 billion) in 1994.

The inclusion of Victoire has boosted CU's income from life insurance business — previously smaller than most of its competitors — in the composite insurance sector. It is also behind much of the increase in 1995 figures, and the shares issued to acquire it explain the decline in earnings per share despite the large advance in profits.

There is another cycle, however — an acquisition and expansion one, which sees great optimism for a year or two after the new venture, followed by gloom for much longer as everything goes wrong. That has happened to CU twice in the 1970s and 1980s as it failed to build profitable business in the US. Hopefully European expansion will be less fraught.

Lottery roll-over depresses high street spending

Cold snap in shops points to rates cut

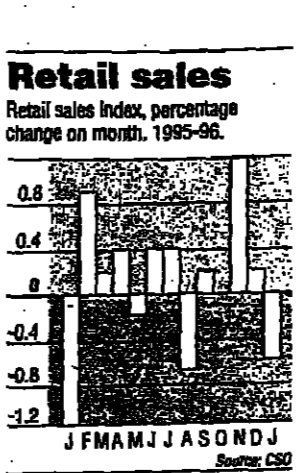
BITTERLY cold weather and heavy betting on the national lottery hit high street activity last month, boosting hopes of further cuts in interest rates.

The Central Statistical Office said yesterday that retail sales volumes fell by 0.6 per cent between December and January, defying more optimistic City predictions and roser survey evidence from the Confederation of British Industry.

Treasury officials said a £100 million increase in spending on lottery tickets may have displaced some shop spending, as punters chased huge roll-over prizes.

January's cold snap also deterred people from venturing out — the CSO said only mail order and door-to-door sales had shown any growth.

City analysts said the seasonally adjusted data made a cut next month in the cost of borrowing almost inevitable, especially after the publication yesterday of the minutes of the January monetary meeting between the Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, and the Governor of the Bank of England, Boldero Gees — which showed a softer Bank opposition to some policy loosening.



David Coleman, chief economist at Canadian Bank of Imperial Commerce, said: "There used to be two certainties in life — death and taxes. Now there's almost a third, a base rate cut next month."

The only disagreement at last month's meeting was over the timing of the 0.25 percentage point cut to 6.25 per cent, with Mr Gees recommending a delay but the Chancellor favouring immediate action.

Mr Clarke said: "The interest rate rises between September 1994 and February 1995 represented a deliberate move towards acting earlier in the face of inflationary risks. There are good reasons for act-

ing similarly early when inflationary pressures ease."

Figures published since the meeting show a sharp fall in inflation in January, suggesting retailers were discounting heavily in the face of subdued consumer demand.

But the CSO said that despite the fall in sales last month, overall volumes remained on an upward trend. Sales between November and January were up by 1.2 per cent on the preceding three months, and by 1.9 per cent on the same period a year previously.

Breaking down the monthly change, officials said that household goods stores bore the brunt of the downturn, posting a 1.9 per cent fall in volumes. Clothing and footwear shops saw sales dip by 1.2 per cent, while department stores witnessed a 1.5 per cent drop. Sales at supermarkets were unchanged on the month, the CSO said.

Some economists said the poorer-than-expected January figures cast doubt on the Government's forecast of 3.5 per cent growth in consumption during 1996. But the Treasury stressed that retail sales accounted for only a third of total spending, and said today's analysis of the components of Gross Domestic Product would shed further light on consumers' activity.

£9.5m for Names as new business deserts Lloyd's

PRESSURE on Lloyd's of London to cement a multi-billion pound settlement with its warring Names intensified yesterday as litigating investors were awarded £9.5 million by the courts and as it emerged that the insurance market's business has started to crumble because of the crisis of confidence.

The High Court ordered Stephen Merritt, once a deplorable leading underwriter in the market, together with his former companies, market agents and its auditors, to pay interim damages to investors or Names on Mr Merritt's syndicates. A ruling last autumn awarded £3 million to the litigating Names as victims of negligent underwriting.

A series of legal actions has raised serious doubts over the survival of Lloyd's and has started to have a significant

impact on the insurance market's financial results, the influential analyst Chatset said yesterday.

Although profits for 1993 are expected to total about £1 billion, with an even better performance the following year, Chatset says there is clear evidence from the 1995 figures that insurance business is going elsewhere.

Lloyd's reports its profit and loss figures three years in arrears so the final results are still estimates, but Chatset said that a sharp drop in premium income during 1995 showed Lloyd's "has a credibility problem with the purchasers of insurance, particularly from the US".

Charles Sturge of Chatset said this decline in business made it imperative that Lloyd's ringenced old liabilities and settled litigation with Names.

He said another £1 billion should be contributed to the settlement which, at present, totals £2.8 billion.

The strongest indication

yet that Lloyd's auditors will participate in the settlement came from Ernst & Young after yesterday's Merritt judgment. Mr Merritt was ordered to pay £500,000 of the damages — a figure which could force the former Lloyd's star into bankruptcy — but most of the liability will fall on other defendants. As the award was made on the basis of joint and several liability, if any one defendant cannot pay then another will have to pick up the bill.

Ernst & Young — the defendant with the deepest pockets in this case — said that, along with other potentially liable firms of Lloyd's auditors, it is negotiating terms on which it can cap its exposure to court-room action by making a contribution to the global settlement plan.

But John Mays, chairman of the Merritt Names action group, said a contribution from the auditing profession of less than £500 million would probably not be sufficient to deflect legal actions.

Dassault dragged to Aerospatiale altar

ALEX DUVAL SMITH reports from Paris on the first move in a shake-up of the French defence industry for the post-cold war era

THE French government yesterday arranged the marriage of the country's two leading defence companies, announcing they would merge as part of a plan to streamline the industry for the post-cold war era.

The prime minister's office said that the public Aerospace company and Dassault, a successful private fighter-plane builder, must develop a merger plan to safeguard internal French defence co-op-

eration against mergers or takeovers from Germany and the UK.

Dassault, which is known to be reluctant about the plan and which in recent days has taken out boastful full-page advertisements in French newspapers, had begun a co-operation programme with British Aerospace.

The company, whose 11,800 employees manufacture Rafale fighter planes and business jets, is debt-free and

last year had a turnover of 11.6 billion francs (£1.5bn).

By contrast, Aerospatiale, which makes the Airbus, helicopters, satellites and missiles, has more than 38,000 staff and debts of some £6 billion.

However, the move is seen by analysts as a belated and much-needed attempt to update the French defence industry, which remains an apparatus still geared to the cold war.

A government spokesman said it wanted Dassault and Aerospatiale to create an aeronautics conglomerate "in the national interest". Further conglomerates are expected to be created in de-

Handsomest reports of all take first prize at the ball

SARAH RYLE

THE average shareholder spends about five seconds glancing at the annual company report that drops on to his mat before binning it, according to the leading barrister Richard Sykes QC.

He should know. He has ploughed through the annual accounts of 100 firms, a duty that he claimed yesterday to have enjoyed.

This herculean labour was assigned to a panel chaired by Mr Sykes and sponsored by the Stock Exchange and the three Institutes of Chartered Accountants. The mission: to choose the two handsomest, clearest, most informative company reports.

Mr Sykes demanded serious treatment, and the Lord Mayor of London hosted the awards ceremony at the Mansion House and announced the winners to 200 striped suits.

Reuters won the award for firms in the £50 million-plus section, adding the multimedia company's name to a list of prizewinners including BP and Cadbury Schweppes.

The industrial engineering firm Triplex Lloyd scooped the "small" company title for the second time, having won it in 1993.

Its group chief executive, Graham Lockyer, did not gloat: "In our half-year statement we reported net assets in excess of £50 million, so punners-up represented here today may not need to fear our competition next year."

Mr Sykes said there were some "very disappointing" entries which got as far as the shortlist, chosen from 150 reports.

He praised Reuters and Triplex Lloyd for quality and quantity of information and "good use of headlines and pictures".

For their efforts, each company received a slate-based, silver-fronted plaque engraved with a City skyline.

News in brief

Six banks to market Railtrack shares

THE Department of Transport has chosen a syndicate of six investment banks to market shares in Railtrack to institutional investors later this year. The department announced in a statement that the banks are Credit Lyonnais, Robert Fleming, James Capel (part of the HSBC Group), Nikko, Schroder Wertheim and WestLB. The privatisation is due to take place in May, and the Government said earlier this year it expected to start marketing the shares next month. — *Reuters*

Volvo profits in reverse

VOLVO'S fourth-quarter pre-tax profit fell 38 per cent to a lower-than-expected 2,282 billion kronor (£216 million) as its car division posted a loss. Shares in the luxury Swedish car maker fell as much as five kronor, more than 3.6 per cent, to 131.5 kronor in Stockholm after the earnings figures, which showed full-year pre-tax profit down to 13.05 billion kronor from 16.38 billion. The 861 million kronor loss in the car division was covered by Volvo Trucks' record profit of 5 billion kronor. — *Bloomberg*

Japan photo film pledge

ON the eve of Japanese prime minister Ryutaro Hashimoto's departure to meet President Clinton in California, Japan's fair trade commission announced yesterday it would investigate unfair competition in the Japanese photo film market. The commission cited a dispute between Eastman Kodak and Fuji Photo Film, in which the American company has alleged that four wholesalers loyal to Fuji dominate the market. Fuji has a 70 per cent share and Kodak 10 per cent. — *Kaini Ruffery*

Competition rules eased

COMPETITION and consumer affairs minister John Taylor has made some changes to competition law in an effort to "streamline the rules to lessen bureaucracy, costs and uncertainty for business". Two orders remove the automatic ban on notifying restrictive agreements if the combined total UK turnover of the companies concerned is £20 million or less, or if the agreement is covered by a "block exemption" regulation exempting the agreement from European prohibitions on restrictive agreements. — *Reuters*

BT set for Italian link

BRITISH Telecom yesterday confirmed it was in talks with ENI, Italy's huge state-owned energy group, which could further its ambition to become a lead player in the European telecommunications market. BT hopes to form a joint venture with ENI which has been looking for someone to manage its telecom network. Franco Bernabe, ENI's managing director, said the group was "hammering out a deal" with BT. — *Nicholas Bornister*

UK print for Irish paper

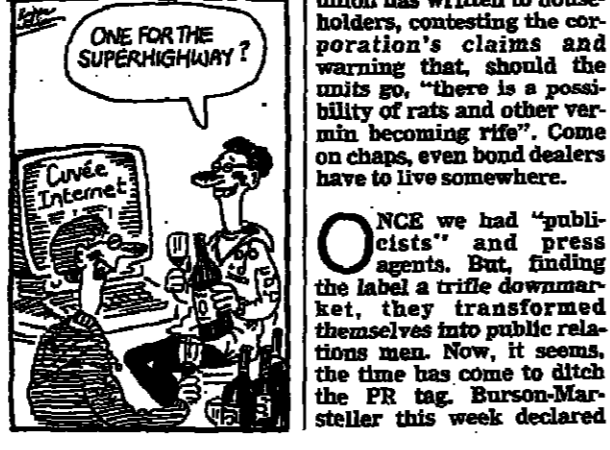
TONY O'REILLY'S Independent Newspapers will begin printing its Sunday Independent title in Reading, Berkshire, on Saturday, February 24. The first print run will be 25,000. The Sunday Independent will be the first Irish national paper to be printed outside Ireland. — *Excel*

Not a Grand way to curry favour

UNCANNY echoes of Chairman Mao and his rubbishy "thoughts" are to be found in the Spring '96 Review from Smythe Dorward Lambert, a "communication management consultancy". Choice samples of Newspeak include: "Line managers are part of the centripetal force which can glue the corporation together on certain issues"; "Leaders... must also... represent the firm as a whole, being its standard bearer and conscience"; "(trans: bosses should say sorry after firing people)"; and "The day-to-day task of espousing the value of the organisation and facilitating success... lies with the culture leaders of the organisation". Quite so.

A HOT tip for "one of the most fashionable tax havens of the next decade" comes courtesy of Scope International, "privacy information"

fisher, if privacy publishing sounds oxymoronic, don't worry — the privacy in question is strictly fiscal. Campione d'Italia is "Switzerland's secret semi-tropical tax haven". How come? Because Campione is "a separate country from Switzerland" — a separate country called Italy. One call from the Undersecretary established that Campione is in the Italian province of Como. Let's hope Scope's "expert" reports on Monaco and the Isle of Man are more accurate.



NOT everybody in the Labour movement is busy sacking up to the City. The GMB union has gone head to head with the Corporation of London in the fight for jobs. In the process, the union is appealing to residents of the Barbican estate, which — despite being the residence of the late John Smith MP — one would not normally associate with the workers' cause. At issue are the waste-disposal units installed in the flats more than 20 years ago. The corporation says they are obsolete and is balloting residents on their removal, thus threatening GMB maintenance jobs. The union has written to householders, contesting the corporation's claims and warning that, should the units go, "there is a possibility of rats and other vermin becoming rife". Come on chaps, even bond dealers have to live somewhere.

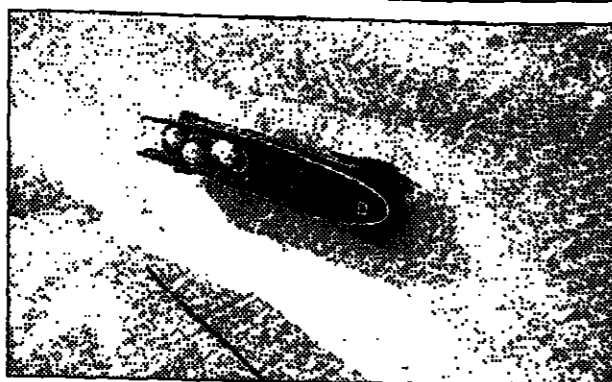
ONCE we had "publicists" and press agents. But, finding the label a trifle downmarket, they transformed themselves into public relations men. Now, it seems, the time has come to ditch the PR tag. Burson-Marsteller this week declared itself "the world's leading perception management firm". Sorry?

BACK to Italy, which would be few people's favourite in the race to meet the Maastricht EMU criteria. But the stakes are high, according to Fiat boss Gianni Agnelli. "Either we are in it or it is decline [for Italy]". Mr Agnelli thundered in the Italian press. Mr Agnelli is parting his money where his mouth is. "I have bet that we will make it for '99... and I have not wagered small amounts", he told the small interviewer. But just how much money has Fiat staked? Fiat was less than forthcoming. "We would not have any comment to make on that," it said.

BOTTOM marks to the Bottoms Up off-licence chain, which threatens the wine-drinking public with the horrors of Chateau Anorak. Electronic mail types are offered the specially commissioned "Cuvée Internet", which hail here, unsurprisingly, from California. Luckily, this virtual slice is available only to goggle-eyed freaks (sorry, Internet users).

الاصحاح

shops
as cut



Four men and a bob... but winning has not been a habit

Alex Duval Smith talks to Albert Grimaldi about this weekend's final run in the driving seat of the principality's bobsleigh team

Monaco's ice prince hot for final sleigh

IT IS the dilemma of every top amateur: how to juggle the demands of one's sport, job and social life. After 10 years trying to get the three right, Prince Albert of Monaco has decided to end his career on the world bobsleigh circuit.

Prince's Career? Bobsleigh? Yes. As the world worried about the hazardous combination of the Prince of Wales and a polo-stick, the Grimaldi heir was trying to succeed at 50mph on icy horseshoe bends. With a little help from South Wales...

It is not that he has failed, nor that Prince Rainier III has finally decided to hand over the reins of the Mediterranean sovereignty to his son. It is this weekend's four-man bobsleigh event at the world championships in Calgary is likely to be the last for Albert Grimaldi — as he appears on the drivers' starting list.

"The pressures of work are getting too much," he said from his hotel room in Monaco. He had not been able to enter the two-man event in Canada last weekend because Prince Albert was tied up with official duties at the annual television festival.

"It is becoming increasingly hard to find the time to travel and do sufficient out-of-season training and spend time with my team-mates," said the 37-year-old.

He denied he has come under pressure from his father to avoid fatal injury. The high-speed Curse of the



Prince and the pusher... Monaco were third in the French championship and hope to be in the top 20 in Calgary

jeans and an Italian textile company based in Monte Carlo. Prince Albert bought equipment on the front of his bobsleighs he stuck his coat of arms — two monks with swords, in honour of Francois Grimaldi who, after being thrown out of Genoa in 1297, took refuge in Monaco. He was crowned king in 1949, after taking a course in St Moritz. But South Wales came to the rescue, in the shape of Malcolm Lloyd, a former miner, soldier and member of the Great Britain No.1 bobsleigh team. He was hired as coach, and was soon joined in Monaco by the Welsh rugby player Mark Thomas, son of Clem who captained Wales in the Fifties.

comes up for renewal at the end of this month, said working with the prince was no problem. "The trouble is that he is in such demand. It is difficult for him to follow a training schedule. After Prince Albert retires he will continue to take an interest in the team and to encourage us. My ambition is to get the team in really good shape for Nagano in 1998." Prince Albert said: "I will miss the thrill of this addictive sport. Flipping a 600lb sled down an ice track is an amazing sensation, and it's great to pull a team together."

Racing Champion test for Alderbrook

Chris Hawkins

IF TODAY'S Wincanton meeting survives a 7am inspection at least two important pieces in the Champion Hurdle puzzle should be slotted into place.

The first will concern the fitness of Alderbrook, who has knee surgery during the summer, and the second will tell us whether the once-raced Right Win is a genuine Cheltenham contender.

It was a year ago today in the Kingsley first burst on the scene. Stories about his prowess at home had been leaking out for some time, but that was the first public demonstration that he was truly exceptional.

His majestic success at Cheltenham confirmed it was no flash in the pan and fully vindicated Ernie Pick's decision to send him to Kim Bailey. But the owner's subsequent plan to go back to the States with the horse misfired, resulting in the wear and tear injury.

Until Christmas connections were by no means sure that Alderbrook would make it, but a lot of work has been done in recent weeks, although he will not be 100 per cent today.

Right Win is a similar sort to Alderbrook — a group three horse on the flat with a ground. In other words, an ideal prospective hurdler provided he could jump.

On his debut at Sandown last month he skipped round and beat five previous winners with an impressive performance and there is no telling what heights he might reach.

We should know much more about that today as besides Alderbrook, whom he meets at levels, he takes on the very useful Land Afar.

Wincanton runners and riders with form guide

Table with 2 columns: Race number and details (e.g., 2.00 Brave Pathways, 2.05 Simple Artifice, 2.08 Lumpy Light, 2.15 Alderbrook, 2.20 West Tyne, 2.25 Larkfield (nb), 2.30 Lord Regal)

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Sport in brief

Capriati back with quick and easy win

JENNIFER CAPRIATI needed only 51 minutes yesterday to mark an impressive return to the WTA tennis circuit after a lengthy absence, writes David Irvine. The 18-year-old American overpowered the seventh seed, Kristie Boogert of the Netherlands, 6-1, 6-2 at the Nokia Grand Prix in Essen. Today she plays Austria's Barbara Schett for a quarter-final place.

Girardelli still king of the hill

MARC GIRARDELLI proved himself one of skiing's all-time greats when he won the men's combined at the Alpine World Championships in the Spanish Sierra Nevada. The 32-year-old Austrian-born skier, who represents Luxembourg, stood 2.52sec behind the leader Mario Reiter, of Austria, after Tuesday's slalom but secured the title for the third time after yesterday's downhill with a winning overall time of 3min 31.85sec. The downhill course, he nevertheless complained, was not steep enough. "It should have been a cross-country course," he said. "The race was a bit of a lottery."

McMillan joins Lewis stable

COLIN McMILLAN, the former WBO featherweight champion from east London, has signed a "flexible" contract with Lennox Lewis's promoters Panos Eliades and Frank Maloney with a view to challenging for a world title within three fights. The first will be a British title challenge to Doncaster's Jonjo Irwin in March or April. Assuming he wins, McMillan will make a voluntary defence before challenging Luisito Espinosa of the Philippines for the WBC title in London some time in July, between the end of Wimbledon and the start of the Olympic Games in Atlanta.

Polgar senior a world-beater

ZSUZSA POLGAR, at 26 the oldest of Hungary's trio of chess-playing sisters, clinched the women's world championship at Jaen in Spain yesterday when she defeated China's Xie Jun 8½-4½, writes Leonard Barden. The 25-year-old from Beijing had held the title since 1991 but was totally outplayed this time, winning two games to Polgar's six and surviving only 24 moves in the final game, the shortest of the series, before resigning a knight down. Zsuzsa still ranks only No. 2 in the world behind her 18-year-old sister Judit. The youngest Polgar has consistently refused to compete for the women's crown, preferring top men's events; she is now in the world top 10.

Bailey sprint record in doubt

DONOVAN BAILEY'S world indoor 50 metres record of 5.56sec in Nevada on February 5 remains untrifled because of a dubious start. The Canadian beat the previous best of 5.51 set by East Germany's Manfred Kocot in 1973 and equaled by the American James Sandford in 1981, but this week's Grand Prix standings do not include any world-record bonus points for him. "The ratification of Bailey's record is questionable," said Bob Hersh, chairman of the men's records panel of USA Track and Field. "From the videotape there appears to have been a false start."

Lingfield (A.W. Flat)

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Wincanton Lingfield Clonmel Racecard section with race details and odds.

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An easy target... Taylor is portrayed as 'Turnip'

Taylor says yes to Watford

Russell Thomas

GRAHAM TAYLOR is back in charge at Watford — almost 20 years after he launched the unfashionable Vicarage Road club to undreamt-of success.

Twenty-four hours after Glenn Roeder departed, the First Division strugglers confirmed Taylor's return, this time as general manager to head up a new regime to resurrect Watford's fortunes.

After a board meeting the club issued a brief statement: "Graham will have overall responsibility for running all aspects of the club on a day-to-day basis."

Watford have called a news conference at Vicarage Road for 10am today to parade Taylor and said that, until then, there would be no further comment.

Earlier yesterday, club officials did nothing to dispel the conviction that Taylor, synonymous with Watford's rapid rise to the old First Division in his first reign, was about to return.

The former England manager had been out of the game since his split from Wolves in November, and a development at Molineux yesterday pointed further to him returning to Watford. Bobby Downes, his No. 2 at Wolves, paved the way to a reunion by rejecting a three-year contract to stay at Molineux as youth development officer.

Several names associated with Taylor's golden era of 1977-1987 were being linked with places in the new Watford structure, among them Pat Rice, Arsenal's youth team chief, and Tom Walley, currently with Millwall.

Although Taylor was reviled as "Turnip" by one national newspaper after his England failings, his reputation has remained gloriously intact at Watford, whom he took from the old Fourth Division to the First in five seasons.



Trials and tribulations of Graham Taylor's life... above, anxiety on the England bench in 1992 and, left, intensity as Aston Villa's manager in 1989. A public apology was in order, middle, to Watford's fans in 1962 after he accused them of lack of support for the team; and last November, right, he quietly contemplated the end of his Wolves reign



Jefferies' knowing touch has Hearts fluttering

Patrick Glenn on the quarter-finalists with Scottish Cup celebration on their mind

IN THE vicinity of Tynecastle Park there is a growing conviction that Hearts will celebrate the 40th anniversary of their last Scottish Cup triumph by lifting the oldest trophy this year.

That optimism does not spring from a comparison of the present squad with a 1956 team littered with internationals — Dave MacKay, Alex Young and the fearsome inside-forward trio of Alfie Conn, Willie Bauld and Jimmy Wardhaugh.

Those fans old enough to remember a largely one-sided 3-1 victory over Celtic by a side who went on to win two league championships and two Scottish League Cups in the next four years would be dismissive of any claims on behalf of today's possessors of the maroon jersey.

But they are likely to share with younger supporters a resurgent feeling of impending glory based on the transformation effected at the old club since Jim Jefferies became manager last July.

Jefferies, a lifelong Hearts fan who spent 15 years as a player at Tynecastle, left Falkirk acrimoniously to join a club without either money or

apparently, a sense of direction.

His fear that, despite a respectable opening few matches, the mediocrity of recent years would return was justified on October 21, when Hearts went bottom.

The overhaul was almost as swift as it was sweeping. The French goalkeeper Gilles Rousset, Italian defender Pasquale Bruno and Swedish striker Hans Eskilsson were signed for peanuts and younger players, notably Gary Locke, Allan McManus, Paul Ritchie and Alan Johnston, were given extended opportunities to prove themselves.

The Jefferies touch has not only taken Hearts into joint third place in the league and the last eight of the Scottish Cup — they won 3-1 at Kilmarnock on Saturday and will meet First Division St Johnstone in the Sky game on Thursday March 7 — but crowds are up by 25 per cent.

"We still have big financial worries," says Jefferies, "but the way the fans have responded has helped. They're coming back because they see what we're trying to do. When we lost at home to Aberdeen recently it was one of those

days when things just didn't go for us, but the fans left singing because they understood there are days like that."

Jefferies has no coaching certificate with which to proclaim his competence. He had reached management level in the insurance business when the amateur team in the Borders village of Lauder "poached me" to help out in a crisis. From there to Hawick Royal Albert and Gala Fairydean until, in 1990, he gave up the day job shortly before his 40th birthday to become the full-time manager of Falkirk.

"It's been about getting players to believe that what you're doing is right," he says. "I knew when I arrived at Hearts that the club basically had to be changed. Players already here were given a chance but I knew that, despite the charge a team gets initially from a new manager, the old habits would come back. When they did the changes were made, and the players have responded brilliantly."

"Hearts have let people down too much in the past to be setting targets at this stage. But we wouldn't fear meeting anybody who is left in the cup. I think none of the Premier sides left — Rangers, Celtic or Aberdeen — would fancy meeting us. But of course there is still a great deal to do. There always is."

Results

Soccer

UNBORN LEAGUE President's Cup: First-round replays: Stirling Albion 1, Alloa 0; Forth Wanderers 2, Stirling Albion 1; Forth Wanderers 2, Stirling Albion 1.

PONTINE LEAGUE Second Division: Forth Wanderers 2, Stirling Albion 1; Forth Wanderers 2, Stirling Albion 1.

AVON INSURANCE COMBINATIONS: First Division: Bristol City 2, Northwich 1; Northwich 1, Bristol City 2.

LEAGUE OF WALES Cup: Quarter-final: Penarth 2, Aberystwyth 1; Aberystwyth 1, Penarth 2.

FAI HARP LEAGUE Cup: Second round: Limerick 1, Sligo 3.

SOUTH AFRICAN OLYMPIC QUALIFIERS: First round: Durban 2, Grahamstown 1; Grahamstown 1, Durban 2.

INTERNATIONAL: Israel 4, Lithuania 2.

Rugby Union: CLAREMONT vs. OXFORD: Claremont 19, Oxford 10.

Tennis: **EUROPEAN COMMUNITY CHAMPIONSHIPS** (Amateur): First round: A. Voloshin (Ukraine) 6-3, 6-3; B. S. S. (Spain) 6-3, 6-3; C. S. S. (Spain) 6-3, 6-3.

WORLD INDOOR CHAMPIONSHIPS (Professional): First round: M. S. S. (Spain) 6-3, 6-3; B. S. S. (Spain) 6-3, 6-3.

WORLD INDOOR CHAMPIONSHIPS (Amateur): First round: M. S. S. (Spain) 6-3, 6-3; B. S. S. (Spain) 6-3, 6-3.

Fixtures

Soccer

UNBORN LEAGUE President's Cup: First-round replays: Forth Wanderers 2, Stirling Albion 1; Forth Wanderers 2, Stirling Albion 1.

PONTINE LEAGUE Second Division: Forth Wanderers 2, Stirling Albion 1; Forth Wanderers 2, Stirling Albion 1.

AVON INSURANCE COMBINATIONS: First Division: Bristol City 2, Northwich 1; Northwich 1, Bristol City 2.

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WORLD INDOOR CHAMPIONSHIPS (Amateur): First round: M. S. S. (Spain) 6-3, 6-3; B. S. S. (Spain) 6-3, 6-3.

Cricket

World Cup '96

World Cup '96: Live Commentary 0891 22 88 28 Match Reports 0891 22 88 29

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Kendall moves for Walker as Claridge moves nowhere

HOWARD KENDALL is on the verge of signing the Celtic striker Andy Walker for £500,000 in an attempt to turn the fortunes of Sheffield United, who are one place off the bottom of the First Division. Celtic have accepted United's offer and the player was in Sheffield yesterday to discuss terms.

Walker joined Celtic from Bolton in 1994 for a cut-price fee of £250,000 after Bolton had demanded £2 million for the out-of-contract player. He had been Wanderers' leading scorer for two successive years but has been unable to reproduce that form regularly in his native country and has been forced out of Celtic's first team.

Last week Kendall had a £1 million bid for Manchester City's Republic of Ireland striker Niall Quinn blocked by the Premiership club. Birmingham's striker Steve Claridge has had his proposed £1.3 million move to Leicester blocked by his manager Barry Fry.

The striker is involved in a pay dispute with the First Division club and looked set to make the switch across the Midlands after talks with Leicester's manager Martin O'Neill. But Fry recalled him to Birmingham's first team on Tuesday and said: "As far as I am concerned the whole thing is off. Claridge stays here and sees out the remaining 18 months of his contract."

Smith, a wild-card entry, put up a much better display against Laura Colazza in the first round. She hung on to take the first set after squandering a 5-3 lead, before the 18-year-old qualifier began to take control.

The untested light-middleweight Adrian Dodson will defend his WBO inter-continental title against Spain's Javier Castellano at York Hall, Bethnal Green. The fight is one of six Barry Hearn has signed with ITV, the next two coming on April 18 featuring champion Ramon Louganon and Dodson again on May 4. The other three fights are scheduled for later in 1996.

Republic holds crisis talks

THE air of impending crisis surrounding the Football Association of Ireland thickened last night when a crisis meeting was held to discuss the standing of the game in the Republic.

Top of the agenda is believed to have been the resignation of Joe McGrath, the FAI's director of coaching, who departed yesterday five days after the equally sudden resignation of the chief executive Sean Connolly.

Also on last night's agenda was the handling of Jack Charlton's resignation as Republic manager in December and the methods used in the search for a successor.

Mick McCarthy was appointed manager this month amid much media fanfare. But within 24 hours of the appointment the FAI president Louis Kilcoyne said on Irish radio that McCarthy had not been his first choice to fill the post.

The FAI is also believed to have discussed an alleged £200,000 shortfall from its allocation of tickets for the 1994 World Cup finals.

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Sport
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Caledonian switch to Tannadice

CALEDONIAN Thistle's Scottish Cup quarter-final against Rangers has been switched to Dundee United's Tannadice ground, a 250-mile round trip for the "home" supporters.

However, Rangers have agreed to send a team to Inverness to mark the opening of Caledonian's £2.5 million stadium next season.

The visit will be compensation for the Third Division side, who had hoped the tie on Saturday March 9 would be the last played at their 3,500-capacity Telford Street home. The Scottish Football Association ruled against that on safety grounds, and blocked a lucrative switch to Inverness.

The switch to Tannadice, which holds 12,614, is likely to earn Thistle £50,000 from gate receipts. Dundee United visited Celtic for their quarter-final the following day.

● Motherwell's manager Alex McLeish is close to completing a swap deal to bring the midfielder Brian Hamilton, 28, from Hearts, with Jamie Dolan, 27, going to Tynecastle.

Joe Hockey

BIRMINGHAM'S Joe Hockey will defend his WBO inter-continental title against Spain's Javier Castellano at York Hall, Bethnal Green. The fight is one of six Barry Hearn has signed with ITV, the next two coming on April 18 featuring champion Ramon Louganon and Dodson again on May 4. The other three fights are scheduled for later in 1996.

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WORLD CUP CRICKET

Indians ride their luck on Lara and Tendulkar

Derek Grundy in Gwalior

INDIA, extravagantly favoured by fortune, bounced West Indies under the floodlights here by five wickets with 83 balls to spare. They took Brian Lara's wicket in fortuitous circumstances when he had made two... through a questionable decision by the Pakistani umpire Khalizur Hayat... and then, requiring only 174, saw Sachin Tendulkar enjoy two early lives before making a match-winning 70.

Table with columns: GROUP A, P, W, L, T, W, P, W, R, R. Rows for Sri Lanka, West Indies, Australia, Zimbabwe.

off the legs, was forgivable but not the dolly that Browne, the wicketkeeper, dropped when Tendulkar miscued a short-arm pull at Bishop. Tendulkar's dismissal then would have reduced India to 55 for three. The foundation of their innings had been joined by Ambrose in a fiery opening spell. Tendulkar's ally in restoring their fortunes was Azharuddin at his most elegant. They added 79 in 16 overs.

Apart from the substance they provided, the speed of it was insurance against the hull that followed Tendulkar's dismissal from a self-inflicted run-out. West Indies' bowling varied in quality. Their emphasis on a leg-stump line in the early stages of the Tendulkar-Azharuddin stand was expensive, as both batsmen were strong off the legs. They also paid a high price for bowling short at Kambl, who with Mongia rapidly got the final 77 runs. Perhaps reminded of Kambl's panic against the bounce during last year's Test series between the countries, they often dug the ball in at him. But the pitch was so slow that the little left-hander hooked and pulled with relief.

The sharp fall in momentum which followed Tendulkar's dismissal and the quick departure of Prabhakar held out promise of a tight finish. But Mongia flicked off his legs, cut waspishly and looked so assured that Kambl, weighed down for a while, again cut loose. With 20 runs left, Ambrose was recalled for a last desperate fling. His gambit was a short ball at Kambl, which was hooked for six. Furious, he bowled a high full-toss, which was called a no-ball, and the over resulted in 10 runs, taking India to victory's doorstep.

West Indies' own batting was undistinguished, though they were due much sympathy for the fate of Lara. The ball from Srinath was a good one but the television replay left little doubt that the deflection was off the top of the pad. His exit left West Indies forlorn at 16 for two. Richardson batted responsibly, if not impressively, to redeem the situation with Chamberpaul, who showed authority before succumbing to an astounding catch at short midwicket by Azharuddin.

Their partnership of 75, the breach of which led to the fall of two more quick wickets, was the crux of the innings, although Harper and Browne put on 43 for the sixth wicket.

WEST INDIES: S C Campbell b Srinath 5, R B Richardson c Kambl 47, S C Lara c Mongia b Srinath 2, S Chandrapaul c Azharuddin 38, R C Kapoor 38, R I C Holder b Kumble 35, R A Harper b Kumble 28, D O Browne b Prabhakar 25, D D Gibson b Kumble 25, A Bishop run out 2, C E L Ambrose c Kumble 2, P Prabhakar 2, C A Walsh not out 1, Extras (nb, w, nb) 1. Total (50 overs) 174.

INDIA: A D Jogleji b Ambrose 1, S R Tendulkar run out 70, S Srinath b Ambrose 28, M Azharuddin c Walsh b Harper 32, P Prabhakar c A D Harper 23, M Mongia not out 24, S C Lara not out 16, Extras (nb, w, nb) 1. Total (50 overs) 174.



High-fives and low-two... India celebrate the dismissal of Lara, caught at the wicket for two off what the TV replay indicated was his pad. AJIT KUMAR

Win for Sri Lanka under armed guard

Our Correspondent

SRI LANKA, the team no-one wanted to play, finally opened their World Cup campaign yesterday in conditions of tight security in Colombo. Armed policemen stood

guard inside and outside the stadium and traffic was barred from all roads leading to the ground, but supporters turned up in their thousands. They had plenty to cheer as a third-wicket stand of 173 by Asanka Gurusinha and the Kent batsman Aravinda de Silva steered Sri Lanka to a

six-wicket victory over Zimbabwe in the Group A match. Queues formed hours before the start, and every incoming spectator was subjected to a thorough body search. Bottles and cans were confiscated but not musical instruments, and several brass bands entertained the

capacity crowd of 20,000. The crowd applauded the Zimbabwean players throughout, recognising their courage in coming to a city where more than 80 people were blown up by a huge bomb on January 31. The refusal of the Australia and West Indies sides to play there leaves Sri

Lanka, co-hosts of the World Cup with India and Pakistan, reduced to two matches instead of four - yesterday's and another against Kenya on March 6. Zimbabwe made 228 for six in 50 overs, but Sri Lanka overhauled them in only 37 overs for the loss of four wickets. Gurusinha (87) and de Silva (91) easily surpassed Sri Lanka's previous World Cup best for the third wicket, a stand of 88 by Roy Dias and Gurusinha against England.

Worried Warne points the finger at his finger

SHANE WARNE has admitted to long-term concern about the state of his spinning finger as Australia prepare to make their belated entry into the World Cup against Kenya tomorrow. Hailed by Pakistan's Abdul Qadir last week as the best leg-spinner in history, Warne is to have a

bone scan after the tournament and has even discussed the possibility of surgery. Warne had two cortisone injections during the last Australian summer and had another just before leaving for the sub-continent earlier this month, but he has continued to experience difficulties.

"Yes, I am worried about it long-term," said Warne, who in December became the first bowler in Test history to take 50 wickets in a calendar year for three years in succession. "Everybody's got little niggles but this is worse than a little niggle. The doctors think it's a little bit of arthritis and that there

are some torn and stretched ligaments in there, but no one really knows the full thing. When I get back I'll be having a bone scan, so we'll have to wait and see. "Rest doesn't necessarily work. I think rest helps the body but it doesn't help the finger too much. The more I keep going the better."

Both openers went with only 23 runs on the board, but Gurusinha cut loose with six huge sixes and five fours and de Silva hit two sixes and 10 fours. Zimbabwe's captain Andy Flower used seven bowlers against them, but it was only by a run-out that the partnership was finally broken.

Rugby Union

Telfer seeks to praise England and bury them

Robert Armstrong

SCOTLAND'S manager Jim Telfer yesterday pursued his policy of low-key propaganda build-up to next week's Calcutta Cup match at Murrayfield. The Scots, who have named an unchanged side for the fourth straight game, need to win to complete their first Grand Slam since 1950.

"England are one of the best, if not the best, sides in the northern hemisphere," said Telfer, ignoring the fact that England defeated them 15-12 last month. "We have not beaten them in six Five Nations matches since 1990. The selectors have kept faith with the long-serving Johnnie Eadie, though his joint-half replacement against Wales, Kenny Logan, gave an outstanding performance. But Telfer said Scotland were far from happy with their overall display in the 16-14 victory. "We started off well with a penalty goal in the first minute but it was then eight minutes before we had possession. The squad will train at Murrayfield on Sunday, though Telfer said they would not be over-trained in the build-up. "We're advising the players not to do extra training. They are as fit as they'll ever be and we recognise that the last two matches have put a lot of physical and mental pressure on them."

SCOTLAND: R Shephard (Melrose), C Jagger (Melrose), S Hastings (Worcester), I Leslie (Glasgow), M Dods (Northampton), G Townsend (Northampton), S Redpath (Melrose), S Milne (Bath), K MacLeod (Birling), P Wright (Birmingham), S Campbell (Dundee HFC), G Muir (Melrose), R MacLennan (Worcester), capt I Peters (Bath), I Smith (Glasgow), R MacLennan (Worcester), G Armstrong (Newcastle), S Murray (Edinburgh Academical), P Barrell (London Scottish), I Hay (Glasgow). The Millennium Commission yesterday postponed an announcement on whether it will donate £17 million of Lottery money to develop Cardiff's National Stadium.

Players break old ranks and form union

Devereux... signed for Sale

signed a one-year contract with Sale yesterday to play up to 20 matches for the Courage League One club next season. Brian Wilkinson, Sale's chief executive, forecast that it would be the first of many such deals by northern clubs. "This sort of arrangement, which clubs like Sale and Orrell are best positioned to carry out, bodes well for the future of the northern game. Devereux, who will be 30 next month, envisages no problem in playing year-round. "I've played top level rugby league 12 months of the year (for Widnes and the Australian club Manly) in the past and you can't get a better test of one's ability. Lots of players have done that over the years."

It was in 1989 that Devereux, who had made 21 appearances for Wales, signed for Widnes after the Lions tour of Australia. His last union match was at Brisbane against an Anzac XV including Michael Lynagh, who recently played for Sale. Sale's player-coach Paul Turner, with whom Devereux played on his last appearance for Wales, said: "What attracted John to union again

was the way we play here. I see him benefiting our side in all positions behind the scrum."

Whether Devereux, who would prefer to play union at centre, will be available for an entire season is in doubt, especially as the dates for competitive matches have to be finalised. With the new RL Super League running from March 28 to September 29 there is a two-month overlap. Sale's rugby league restructuring drive may extend to another Welshman, the Salford forward David Young. Also being discussed is a possible ground-sharing scheme with Salford. David Campese has rejected a £500,000 offer to play for Rod Andrew's Newcastle Gosforth, saying his priority is to extend his international career. He may consider a £250,000 two-year contract if he fails to earn selection this season. England's new recruit Gareth Archer is doubtful for Bristol's Pilkington Cup quarter-final clash with the holders, Exeter, on Saturday with a knee injury, but is unlikely to miss the Calcutta Cup game with Scotland at Murrayfield the following week.

self-consciously and ending with a precocious swagger. At first it looked likely to be swallowed up in the Victorian vastness of the Great Western Road Hotel, beside Paddington Station. The beer leaders were OTT and the chairman Bob Norster, whose biggest challenge will be to persuade people that Rupa is not flogging private health insurance, had his address interrupted by a Tannoy announcement. The waters served water and white wine, hardly the stuff of rugby folk - beer and aftershave might have gone down better - and the press conference ended almost before it started, in invitations to conduct "one-to-ones". This would have been all right if everyone had known everyone else, but Richard Dumwoody was there as joint president of the Jockeys' Association of Great Britain - asked if he played rugby for the colts, he replied: "No, I ride them" - and so was David Graveney, looking a little like an ageing lock but representing the Professional Cricketers' Association. Rupa is already impressive. The secretary Richard Moon, a former England B scrum-



Moon... leading light

Players bind tight to look after their interests

Paul Weaver

THE Rugby Union Players' Association was launched in London yesterday, starting

half who is a solicitor specialising in employment law, said it would snowball. Two hours later it had.

Norster, the former Lion, described the association as "an advice clinic. It will give the players a collective voice and put them at the centre of rugby union as the game develops". Considering that rugby union turned professional only in October - until then players' interests were the last thing the Rugby Football Union considered - yesterday's launch was remarkable. The Professional Footballers' Association, Rupa's role model, was founded in 1967 and the PCA, the cricketers' union, is a child of the Sixties. Rupa will represent players at any level. That means a potential membership of 500,000 and, with a subscription of £1 a week, it could soon exercise financial as well as collective muscle. Moon said: "We can represent a player at any disciplinary hearing or contractual negotiation as well as offer help with legal advice, accident and disability cover, personal and vocational training and anything else."

Badminton

All clear after Muggeridge

Richard Jago in Prague

ENGLAND followed the shock of seeing their No. 1 woman Joanne Muggeridge lose the opening encounter with a steady recovery in which both the men's and the women's sides made winning starts at the World Team Championships yesterday. Muggeridge's startling 12-11, 2-11, 11-11 defeat by the world No. 87 Nely Nedjalkova may well have been the result of tension but it did not appear to affect the rest of the women, who comfortably ensured a 4-1 victory over Bulgaria. Today's match is against Canada. Yesterday Mugger-

Sport in brief

Motor Racing

The McLaren-Mercedes of Finland's Mika Hakkinen was fastest around the Estoril track yesterday on a day marked by the problems of the world champion Michael Schumacher's Ferrari. Hakkinen lapped the 2.73-mile track in 1m 29.87sec, eight-tenths of a second quicker than Damon Hill in his Williams-Renault and the Brazilian Ruben Barrichello's Jordan-Peugeot. Schumacher, who arrived on Tuesday to test the new Ferrari, retired after seven laps with mechanical failure.

Basketball

Shot-shy England madden

Christian Bright

THE pet hate of Laszlo Nemeth is a team who do not at least try a shot every time they embark on an offence. Three times it happened to England in the second half at Crystal Palace and three times the national coach was left tearing his grey hair out as his Hungarian compatriots disposed the home players to score. Hungary pulled away by 13 points before settling for a 90-50 victory to undermine England's preparations for next week's European Championship game in Russia. "What is the point," asked the coach, "of taking the ball

Snowline

24hr skiing information direct from resorts in:

Austria, France, Italy, Switzerland, Spain/Andorra & rest of Europe, N. America/Canada, Romania/Bulgaria. 0891 333 541. Weatherline 0891 333 401. Calls cost 35p/min cheap rate. 40p/min on all other rates. Service supplied by Goodland Interactive Ltd. Helpline: 0171 713 4772. SKI Sport CLUB. © 7th Guardian.

Referee calls for bans

Mike Selvey on a tough proposal from John Reid to punish code violators

A LEADING match referee argued that players be suspended rather than fined for breaking the International Cricket Council's code of conduct. John Reid, the former New Zealand captain who will officiate in today's group B match between England and Holland, feels that fines are becoming ineffective because they are not being paid by the players themselves. The code and the match referees to administer it have been in place since before the last World Cup. At first it helped to halt the decline in standards of behaviour but the feeling now is that some players are beginning to ignore aspects of the code because they know they will not be out of pocket even if the maximum fines are imposed on them.

Reid, regarded as a tough but fair referee, said: "We all know that sponsors, including sports equipment manufacturers, are coming together to pay the players' fines. But in a competition like this [the World Cup] where sides have only 14 players to choose from, you will certainly get your attention if you take a player out."

Match referees already have the power to suspend players for major offences but a fine is the usual punishment, even for something like serious dissent. The maximum fine is half the match fee a player would receive in a home series.

In England this is deducted at source by the Test and County Cricket Board, although that by no means precludes an under-the-counter repayment. Two seasons ago in the series against South Africa the England captain Mike Atherton became so used to handing over money to the match referee Peter Burge (£3,000 in all) that he was beginning to consider himself a smug millionaire.

Reid believes that the amount and intensity of cricket coverage - around 400 hours in this tournament with numerous cameras including close-up and super-slow motion to accentuate action - creates "trial by television" for umpires.

"There is no doubt that the introduction of match referees has led to a dramatic improvement in player behaviour," he said, "and the threat of suspension and television replays have taken some of the heat out of dicey situations. "But the cameras cannot cover beyond-the-line decisions because there is a forensic nature to the picture. For a referee to see the deflection and take notice of the body language."

Mistakes, of course, will still be made. Yesterday, for example, Brian Lara may have been victim of an injustice, and the Zimbabwe captain Andy Flower, who might have "done a Cronje", most certainly was. Both handled themselves well but in a more tense match situation their reaction might have been different.

Reid wants team officials to emphasise the threat of suspensions and remind players that matters are in their own hands. "I don't think managers and coaches pass on to their teams the potential damage that a suspension can do to their hopes," he said. "But I can tell them that we referees are pretty serious about the situation."

Prince halts his bobsleigh run, page 13

Taylor returns to Watford, page 14

Tendulkar makes West Indies pay, page 15

Devereux the man for all seasons, page 15

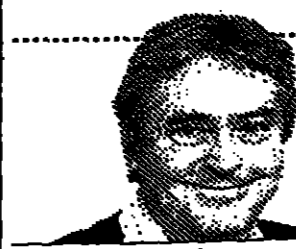
SportsGuardian

CAPRIATI MARKS HER COMEBACK WITH RESOUNDING VICTORY



Returning powerfully... Jennifer Capriati surges to a straight-sets win on her reappearance on the WTA Tour in Essen yesterday. Story, page 13

Humble man who never walked alone



Frank Keating

GOOD Bob Paisley was laid to rest in his parish churchyard yesterday as Liverpool supporters respected his family's request for privacy, and there were less than 100 gathered outside when the simple coffin, adorned with red and white roses, was carried into St Peter's, Woolton. There will be a more-acclaiming memorial service in the city in the spring.

His widow Jessie, their three children and seven grandchildren led the mourners, who included a number of players from Paisley's record-breaking teams as well as the four managers who succeeded him - Joe Fagan, Kenny Dalglish, Graeme Souness and Roy Evans.

Two of those, Fagan and Evans, would have been ruminating through moist eyes on the days when all the blazing red fires that were too hot for Europe were lit in the Anfield bootroom, which legend has it, was instituted by the late Bill Shankly after he arrived to manage the dingy Second Division club at Christmas 1959 and kept on the two back-room boys from the previous regime, Fagan and Paisley.

By sad but, somehow, touching fluke, this very day is published an enlightening biography, Shankly (Virgin £14.99) by Stephen F Kelly, which richly celebrates the founder of the feast. Kelly writes: "As the pundits searched for an explanation for Liverpool's success, they hit upon the bootroom as a sort of Tardis with magical powers. There was nothing special about it, no brainstorming sessions, no magic potions, no wands. If there was any magic, it came from that small group who gathered within its four walls... and all that came out of that bootroom was plain common sense, although by 1970 it had become a shrine."

AND you can just picture it: a pot of tea on the hob, Shankly in his woolly cardie, Paisley in his slippers, Fagan and Ronnie Moran still in their tracksuits. "Young so-and-so didn't look too bright this morning," Paisley would mutter in his north-east vernacular. "Probably out too broken down, the fight would have been available only on closed circuit in cinemas and clubs."

Sky hits Bruno fans in pocket

First pay-TV screening means boxing followers must find extra £9.95 for Las Vegas title contest

John Duncan

RUPERT MURDOCH fired the first shots of a sports broadcasting revolution yesterday when Sky confirmed that next month's Frank Bruno-Mike Tyson fight in Las Vegas will be available live only on a pay-per-view basis, the first time the system has been attempted in Britain.

John Duncan
The move is a huge political gamble for Sky, which has come under heavy fire from politicians during debates on the Broadcasting Bill, but offers potentially massive financial rewards. The pricing of the event, cheap by American standards, is an attempt to ease the birth pangs of the technology. Sky was adamant that it was merely an experiment.

David Chance, deputy managing director, said: "We have no other plans for pay-per-view. Obviously this is a unique event in terms of British sport. The technology is in place, but as to whether pay-per-view comes to the UK in a big way, who knows? But we have absolutely no plans at the moment." He denied there were any plans to introduce it for Premiership football.

Trevor East, executive head of Sky Sports, is well aware of a possible backlash. He said: "It has to be balanced with an acute awareness of the needs of our subscribers. We have no intention of pay-per-view in future." The English promoter Frank Warren was bullish about the long-term prospects: "If it is a success, obviously I am going to be pressing for it. It is my job to make sure boxers get as big a purse as they can and I have got to use every opportunity I can to maximise that."

He added: "This fight was never part of the Sky Sports monthly package. The alternative was to go to a cinema and pay £25 and I'm sure at the end of the day, if I'm a punter looking at the snow coming down or bombs going off or whatever, I'd like to be in my own home watching this fight."

Jack Cunningham, shadow Heritage Secretary, said: "People are increasingly concerned about the availability of sport on television. Labour is determined to address the whole issue of sport on TV in the Broadcasting Bill." Whitehall sources said it was inevitable that pay-per-view services would develop in Britain as they had in the US. Digital television's arrival is likely to increase the number of one-off events with additional charges to viewers. Sporting bodies and individual clubs will want to launch their own revenue-earning pay channels, and few digital services apart from BBC, ITV and Channel 5 are likely to be free.

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Thumbs down for pay-TV

Andrew Culf on a new survey showing minimal support for big-show surcharges



The bait... Tyson and Bruno, on small screens for big money

PUBLIC hostility to pay-per-view television was revealed yesterday in a survey which finds two-thirds of cable and satellite households unlikely to pay extra to watch selected events. The population as a whole is even more trenchantly opposed, 72 per cent claiming they were unlikely to use pay-per-view. These findings, from the monthly survey by CIA MediaLab, are bad news for BSkyB, which is about to pioneer the pay-TV market in Britain. Anthony Jones, head of CIA MediaLab, said the Bruno-Tyson fight would "show how far financially the British public are prepared to go". The survey, conducted among 500 adults, demonstrated a wide public reluctance to pay extra for TV sport. Sixty-two per cent said they would be unwilling to pay an extra £2 on the licence fee to enable the BBC to bid for more events, an idea floated last month

by Robert Atkins, a former Minister for Sport, who said it would raise £100 million a year. Eighty per cent supported legislation to ensure that the eight "listed" events - the so-called "sporting crown jewels" including the Grand National, Wimbledon and the FA Cup final - remained available on mainstream channels. The finding echoes the mood of the House of Lords, which a fortnight ago passed an amendment to the Broadcasting Bill aimed at keeping the events on terrestrial television. The Government is likely to make concessions on the issue when it is debated in

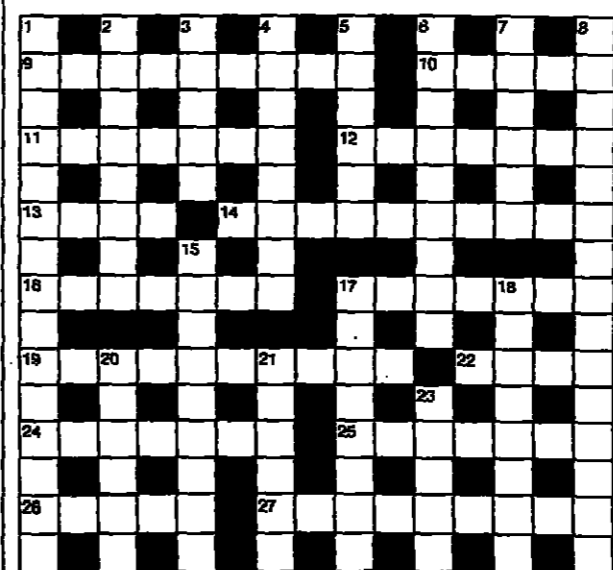
the Commons and may also support moves to ensure BBC and ITV access to highlights when Sky Sports has exclusive live coverage. Jones said: "The public clearly wants political intervention to ensure that sports coverage is available on terrestrial television, but it seems they are not willing to pay for it." A separate survey from the media buyers Universal McCann delivered better news for BSkyB. It found 27 per cent in the 16-24 age group would sign up to cable and satellite if Sky Sports won exclusive rights to Wimbledon, the Grand National, Test cricket and the FA Cup final.

The sequence when Renton grovels for the remains of his hit down a lavatory basin equates the nightmare in his brain with the physical state he's in with grisly aptitude. All the characters are so recognisable that you don't know whether to laugh or cry.

Films G2 page 8

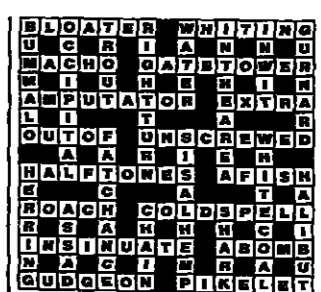
Guardian Crossword No 20,582

Set by Rufus



- Across**
9 The point of this device may not be apparent (6-3)
10,21 Unusual order to stand aside (3,2,3,3)
11 Late deliveries outstanding (7)
12 Still in a terrible fluster (7)
13 It should contain enough water to go round (4)
14 A stew keeps? Perhaps, but it's a gamble (10)
15 Make nothing of it (7)
17 One may peg out playing it out of doors (7)
19 Put one's finger on a measure to determine the gold standard (10)
22 Spanish river bore in spillover (4)
24 Organise a row on a river (7)
25 Wild boar in one African city (7)

- Down**
1 Will the leaves be disturbed by it? (1,5,2,1,6)
2 Could mean coming in fast, everything considered (5,3)
3 French study involves notes (5)
4 Wades about in a Scottish river for sport (8)
5 Falsely disloyal (6)
6 Work of a forger, bent but possibly lucky (9)
7 Man - a Scottish isle? (6)
8 Its members have a great deal in common (8)
15 Unprincipled and corrupt hedonists (9)
17 Holy orders? (5,3)



CROSSWORD SOLUTION 20,582

18 Complete description of a mustang? (6)
20 Allow more time to run out to the fish? (6)
21 see 10 across
23 Key list put out of government securities (5)
Solution tomorrow
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